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Registered Aspects of the De Soto Expedition — Ruthie Bogie Steck
The Columbus Problem — Bernard Bale
Varia:
Founding of St. Genevieve Missouri.
News and Comment:
Book Reviews:
Miller, *Treaties and other International Acts of the United States of America*; Hunting, *The Founding of Chantilly*; Gilbert, *Denton of Molebeck*; Bemis, *The American Revolution Pushes North to Detroit*; Gregorich, *The Annals of the Diocese*; *The Story of Versailles*; *Marquette Bicentennial*.

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An Historical Review

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NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF THE DE SOTO EXPEDITION

I

Hernando de Soto and the six hundred Spaniards who followed him across our southern borderlands four centuries ago have shared immoderately in the censure that historians, ever since the days of Las Casas, thought it their duty to level against the Spanish "propagandists of the Faith" and their exhibitions of inborn "medieval weaknesses."[1] Greed for gold and thirst for adventure and fame, we are told, urged De Soto and his army ever farther into desolate wilds where starvation, disease, and death stared them in the face. For the Indians whom De Soto met in the pursuit of his mad project he had no heart. When he did not enslave them to serve his army, he wantonly tortured and slew them to sate his blood-thirsty horde. As early as 1542, Las Casas referred to De Soto as a "tyrant." He admits, "we have no news [of him] these three years;[2] but we are sure that as soon as he entered the region [of Florida] he conducted himself cruelly and, so to speak, went into ecstacy. If he is still alive, he and his men have destroyed and ruined innumerable people who dared to obstruct his path. Among all those, namely, who with their associates have committed greater evils and crimes and have devastated kingdoms and provinces, he is preëminent in point of cruelty; wherefore I believe that God has given him the same end that He gave to others. . . . Very great are the evils perpetrated by these perverted men, these sons of perdition." Equally prejudiced is the judgment Las Casas then passes. "Finally," he writes, "without

[1] Irving B. Richman, *The Spanish Conquerors* in *The Chronicles of America* Series (New Haven, 1921), p. 116.
[2] De Soto sailed from Cuba in 1539.

penance, this lost captain died; and we doubt not that he lies buried in the darkness of hell, unless it be that his God had mercy on him, according to His unbounded clemency and compassion, but not according to his merits contaminated with execrable evils."[3] Thus wrote Las Casas before the survivors of the De Soto expedition had returned to Mexico and one of their number, the Gentleman of Elvas, had published his account of the enterprise.[4] Though one must attribute to this circumstance Las Casas's ignorance of the facts, one can not condone the obvious bias he manifests in this particular case. That he would have written differently after 1557, with the Elvas account available, is possible. What will always appear strange, however, is the fact that, despite the Elvas *Narrative,* the expedition of De Soto was for centuries usually pictured as a weird story of robbery, bloodshed, and murder. Though in the course of time the reports of officers who had taken part in the expedition became accessible to historians,[5] its revolting episodes were consistently repeated, little or no space being given to the bright aspects of the story.

Even John Gilmary Shea did not hesitate to write that, having been "trained in a bad school," De Soto "had no respect for the lives and rights of the Indians"; that he met them "only as foemen, harassing his march"; and that the Spaniards "treated the Indians with their wonted cruelty." The baptism of the Indian youth, though related by the Gentleman of Elvas, is passed over in silence. Shea states that "divine worship had

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[3] *Regionum Indicarum per Hispanos olim devastarum accuratissima descriptio,* by Bartholomaeo de las Casas (Heidelberg, 1664), pp. 65, 66. This Latin version, from which we quote, was published for the first time in 1598 at Frankfort. The earliest Spanish text, a series of eight tracts, was finished in 1542, but was not published until 1552. It is usually cited by the general title: *Brevissima relación de la destruyción de las Indias.*

[4] *The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto by the Gentleman of Elvas* was published the first time in 1557 at Evora, Portugal. The latest critically annotated edition by Theodore Lewis is in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States—Original Narratives of Early American History* Series (New York, 1907), pp. 126-272. This edition was used for the present study.

[5] Such reports, besides the Elvas *Narrative,* are: (1) the *Relación* of Luis Fernandez de Biedma, official factor of the expedition, was published by Buckingham-Smith in *Colección de varios documentos* (London, 1857) and by Pacheco y Cardenas in *Colección de documentos inéditos,* vol. III (1865); (2) the *Relación* of Rodrigo Ranjel, De Soto's secretary, appeared in Oviedo y Valdez: *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* (Rios edition, 1851). English translations of the Elvas *Narrative* appeared in 1609, 1611, 1809, 1851. A French translation of the Biedma *Relación* was published in 1841 and an English one in 1851. Both these reports were again published in English translation in 1866.

been apparently offered in the camp up to this time" (the battle of Mavilla), but he leaves unnoticed what the soldiers good-naturedly termed the *misa seca*.[6] He tells us how De Soto erected a Cross, but not how the Cross was then venerated by the Spaniards in the presence of the Indians, though this feature

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[6] Garcilasso de la Vega tells of the *misa seca* in his *La Florida del Inca*, a work which Shea seems to reject as unreliable, since he does not quote it. The work is so entitled because its author was an Inca, a native of Peru, who became a Christian and was educated in the school at Cusco. Though begun as early as 1587 and finished in 1591, the work was not published till 1605, at Lisbon. An amended edition of it appeared in 1723 and 1803. Six French translations appeared between 1670 and 1737, while a German translation came out in 1753 and 1785. Bernard Shipp published the only English translation in 1881.

La Florida del Inca was written for the purpose of acquitting De Soto of some of the charges made by his contemporaries and it presents a highly fascinating account of his expedition to Florida. From the Inca, as its author is usually styled, we learn that for his narrative he used the reports of Alonzo de Carmona and Juan Coles, both survivors of the expedition. He cites a third source of information as *"Mi Autor*—My Author." Pulgar, in his edition of 1723, rejects the theory that *"Mi Autor"* is the Gentleman of Elvas. But the Elvas *Narrative* having appeared anonymously, the Inca might reasonably and justly have referred to him thus. There is considerable similarity between the two narratives and strong indication that the Inca did lean upon the Gentleman of Elvas, though the latter's account is shorter by more than half.

Concerning the reliability of *La Florida del Inca*, "there has been great diversity of opinion," writes Woodbury Lowery, who says it is "bombastic, verbose, exaggerated, extravagant, and uncritical" (*The Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1513-1561* (New York, 1911), p. 460). Lewis holds that "only such portions as conform to, or do not conflict with, the other narratives, are worthy of consideration" (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 131). In the course of his narrative the Inca usually states that he obtained this or that item of information from either Carmona or Coles, leaving upon the reader the impression that for the rest he was dependent upon *"Mi Autor,"* presumably the Gentleman of Elvas. It is quite conceivable that, while reading the Elvas *Narrative*, Carmona and Coles would recall vividly the events related there and from their own experience supply details that, they found, the Gentleman of Elvas left unmentioned. These details were then used and inserted by the Inca when he wrote his narrative of the De Soto expedition.

What seems strongly to support the reliability of *La Florida del Inca* is the fact that either this work or the testimonies of Carmona and Coles served Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas for his account of De Soto, as contained in the seventh decade of the *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos*. Numerous incidents of the De Soto expedition, found only in the Inca's volume, are embodied in Herrera's *Historia General*. By royal appointment Herrera was for more than fifty years the official historiographer of the Indies and in this capacity had access to the best sources concerning the activities of the Spaniards in the New World. Herrera died in 1625, at the age of seventy-six years. His *Historia General* comprised eight so-called decades. Four of these were published in two volumes in 1601; the remaining four, in 1615. (See Justin Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. II, p. 67.) The seventh decade, as stated, was not published till 1615. Hence for information concerning De Soto's expedition Herrera could draw from *La Florida del Inca*, which was finished in 1591 and published in 1605.

as well as the other is found in the Elvas *Narrative*. Relying on the same source, Shea could have presented another bright side of the expedition by relating how De Soto sat at table with the chiefs of Casqui and Pacaha, between whom he had previously established peace and friendship.[7] Thus, until very recently,[8] most writers of early American history have neglected the details that shed a more favorable light on De Soto and his enterprise in Florida, singling out only such as tended to sustain the uncritical and unseemly aspersions of Las Casas.

The present paper is intended to be neither an unqualified defense nor an absolute acquittal of De Soto and his army. Incidents occurred that certainly deserve censure. In many cases, however, they were attended by extenuating circumstances that must be considered before passing judgment. At the same time, writers have left untold numerous incidents that reflect more favorably both on the purpose of the De Soto expedition and on the ways and means employed to achieve this purpose. To point out such circumstances and incidents is the aim of the writer. Before proceeding, however, it will be well briefly to recount the story of the expedition, from the day that De Soto and his army left Havana to the day, four years later, that the survivors of the expedition arrived in Mexico.

II

On April 20, 1537, about four months before the unexpected return of Cabeza de Vaca to Spain,[9] Emperor Charles V. signed the contract which appointed De Soto governor of Cuba and empowered him "to conquer and colonize the province of the

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[7] John Gilmary Shea, "Ancient Florida" in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (New York, 1886-1888), vol. II, chap. IV, pp. 231-98, *passim*.

[8] The past forty years or so have witnessed a fundamental change among historians of Spanish America. Regarding the Spanish conquest in general and the De Soto expedition in particular, critical and painstaking writers have come closer to the truth. For a splendid account of the expedition we are studying the reader is referred to *De Soto and the Conquistadores* (New York, 1930) by Theodore Maynard.

[9] Alvar Nuñez, Cabeza de Vaca, was one of the survivors of the expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez into what was then known as La Florida. The fleet left Havana in February, 1528, and some six weeks later reached the western coast of Florida. Before the end of the year Narváez and his men suffered shipwreck near the mouth of the Mississippi and either drowned in the gulf or died on its shores. Only four of the men survived and returned to Mexico, after spending five years in what is now the State of Texas. One of these was Cabeza de Vaca, as he is known in history. He came to the city of Mexico in July, 1536, departed soon after for Spain, and arrived there in August, 1537.

Rio de las Palmas."[10] It is important to recall here that Cabeza de Vaca had returned to Spain for the purpose of obtaining a royal grant to lead an expedition to La Florida, whereby he hoped to profit from what he had learned of these unknown lands during the Narváez expedition. Naturally, he was disappointed when he heard of De Soto's recent appointment for this very enterprise. He refused to accompany De Soto in a subordinate rôle, as suggested to him by De Soto and the Spanish authorities. Furthermore, he declared that he and Dorantes, a fellow survivor, "had sworn not to divulge certain things which they had seen"; wherefore he was not at liberty to give information to anyone, not even to his kinsmen, concerning those lands north of the gulf. All he could say was that the lands there constituted "the richest country in the world" and that such as contemplated accompanying De Soto would act wisely in doing so.[11]

During the remainder of that year, 1537, and the following spring, De Soto was busy holding conferences with the king and his officials and gathering an army for the Florida enterprise. On April 6, 1538, his fleet of ten vessels left Spain and seven weeks later reached Cuba. At Santiago and Havana the more immediate preparations consumed another year. Finally, on May 18, 1539, De Soto's fleet sailed from Havana, carrying six hundred men, 213 horses, and an ample supply of provisions. On May 25, the Spaniards sighted what is now Tampa Bay, Florida, and five days later a landing was effected near the present Charlotte Harbor. Learning here that Cale, farther inland, was rich in gold, De Soto established a post at Tampa Bay and left for its protection a detachment of men with enough provisions to last them two years. Thereupon, on August 1, he struck out with the main army for the interior. Marching northward, he came to the deserted town of Cale on August 11 and, continuing his march, reached Uzela, probably the present Chattahuchi, on October 25. Here he decided to erect winter-quarters. He sent Añasco back to Tampa Bay, instructing him to have Calderon, the commander, conduct to Uzela the detach-

[10] i. e. from the present Rio Grande eastward along the Gulf of Mexico to the peninsula of Florida, exclusively. At the time Spain did not realize how vast an extent of territory was embraced in this contract and in the similar one entered into with Pánfilo de Narváez eleven years before. Both these contracts are in Pacheco y Cardenas, *op. cit.*, vol. XXII, pp 224-45 and 534-46.

[11] See the Elvas *Narrative, loc. cit.*, pp. 136-37.

ment left at Tampa Bay. At the end of December, a scouting party brought news concerning Ochus, sixty leagues westward situated near a fine harbor. Very probably this was the present Pensacola Bay. Accordingly, De Soto sent Maldonado with two vessels to Cuba. Here he was to gather provisions and wait six months for news of the army in Florida. If no news came, he was to return to Florida and, sailing along the gulf coast, cast anchor at the Rio del Espíritu Santo (the present Mississippi River), where De Soto expected to be by that time.

Early in March, 1540, the expedition left Uzela and penetrated farther into the interior. "This was the beginning of three years of restless wandering," writes Bolton, "in the course of which De Soto and his men traversed Florida, Georgia, Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas."[12] Proceeding in a northeasterly direction, they crossed the Ocmulgee, the Oconee, and the Ogeechee rivers and towards the end of April arrived in the province of Cufitachiqui, probably on the Savannah River, near what is today Silverbluff, Georgia. During the two weeks they spent here, they heard of the province of Chiaha. From Cufitachiqui the army set out for Chiaha which they reached on June 5. Here, at the junction of what are now the Little Tennessee and the Tennessee rivers, De Soto and his men tarried thirty days. Hearing that Chisca was a rich and populous country, De Soto conducted his men along the Tennessee River and, after passing through Coste, Tali, Coça, and Tascaluça, came on October 18 to Mavilla, near the Tombigbee River and the present city of Mobile, Alabama. The Indians proving hostile, a fierce battle was fought between them and the Spaniards. After spending a month at Mavilla, the army set out in a more northwesterly direction and on December 17 came to Chicaça, in Pontococ County, Mississippi. Here they settled down for the winter.

Resuming the march on April 25, 1541, the Spaniards forded the Tallahatchie River, continued westward for about ten days, and finally reached Quizquiz, a province that bordered on the Mississippi River. Stationing his army in a town about one and a half miles from the river, De Soto directed that trees be felled and four barges built on which to cross the river. In these, a month later, i. e. early in June, 1541, the Spaniards

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[12] Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands* in *The Chronicles of America* Series (New Haven, 1921), p. 51.

crossed the Mississippi, presumably some thirty miles south of Memphis, Tennessee. Marching up the west bank of the river, they came to the province of Casqui and stopped in a town that lay probably near the confluence of the Tyronza and the Mississippi rivers. Being informed by the Casqui Indians that Pacaha, for which he was searching, lay farther north, De Soto set out with a detachment of men, reached Pacaha on June 29, and pitched camp near what is probably the present Osceola, in Mississippi County, Arkansas.[13] After spending forty days in the provinces of Casqui and Pacaha, the army set out in a southerly direction and on August 4 arrived at Aquigate. This town lay west of the St. Francis River, either in Lee or in St. Francis County, Arkansas. "It is impossible," writes Lowery, "to trace the course of the wandering Spaniards west of the Mississippi in any definite way, for only two of the localities which are mentioned in their itinerary have yet been ascertained with any degree of certainty."[14] Aquigate was the largest town so far seen by the Spaniards during their long and wearisome march. This fact evidently encouraged De Soto and he pressed on in a westerly direction. Early in December he came to Autiamque about thirty miles east of Fort Smith, Arkansas. The Indians proved peaceful and in their midst the Spaniards passed the winter.

On March 6, 1542, the army left Autiamque, crossed the Arkansas near Pine Bluff, and thence continued eastward along its south bank. De Soto's plan was to get back to the Mississippi, construct barges, and send these to Cuba for men and provisions. On April 17 the army reached Guachoya, near what is today Arkansas City, in Desha County, Arkansas. More than a third of his men had by this time succumbed to the hardships endured during the past three years. De Soto probably did not realize how soon death was to interfere with his project and

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[13] It is interesting to note that during the time De Soto and his army were tarrying in this region, other Spaniards accompanying Coronado must have been "so near," to quote Winsor, "that an Indian runner in a few days might have carried tidings between them. Coronado actually heard of his countryman, and sent him a letter; but his messenger failed to find De Soto's party." See *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. II, p. 292.

[14] Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements in the United States, 1513-1561* (New York, 1911), p. 243. This work was copyrighted in 1901. Six years later, in his edition of the Elvas *Narrative*, Theodore Lewis identified, in several cases with practical certainty, not less than thirty-eight of the localities west of the Mississippi mentioned in the Elvas *Narrative*.

take him from his depleted ranks. About a month after the army's arrival at Guachoya, he contracted a fever which in his weakened condition soon proved fatal. He died on May 21, 1542, only forty-two years of age. Three years before, almost to the day, he had left Havana, in eager anticipation of the success that would crown his enterprise.

As provided shortly before his death, Luis de Moscoso, campmaster of the expedition, assumed command. Sharing the opinion of his fellow officers, Moscoso decided to return overland to Mexico. Accordingly, on June 5, 1542, he led the army from Guachoya and for five months marched in a southwesterly direction, as far as the Brazos River in Texas, arriving in October at Guasco, a town on the Brazos River, some 150 miles northwest of the present city of Waco. "But sorely pressed by hunger, repeatedly misled by the Indian guides, and constantly harassed by warlike tribes, they turned back and in December were once more near the banks of the Mississippi, this time on the north shore of the Arkansas, opposite Guachoya,"[15] and in the town called Aminoya. During the winter and spring spent at this town, Moscoso had seven brigantines built. In these on July 2, 1543, the three hundred and twenty survivors began their thrilling voyage down the Mississippi and on July 19 reached the mouth of the river. In a westerly and southerly direction they continued along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and finally on September 10 they came to where the Pánuco River empties into the gulf. They recognized the locality and with intense joy hastened to the Spanish town fifteen leagues distant. Here and later in Mexico City they were heartily welcomed by their countrymen who took them into their homes and provided them with food and clothing. "God reward them," writes the Gentleman of Elvas, one of these survivors; "and those whom He saw fit should escape, coming out of Florida to tread the soil of Christians, be He pleased that they live to

[15] Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* (Quincy, Ill., 1928), p. 24.

serve Him;[16] and to the dead, and to all those who believe in Him, and confess that in Him is their faith, through His compassion, the glory of paradise. Amen."[17]

III

De Soto and the men who not only financed the enterprise but also volunteered to join the army must have been superlatively greedy for gold and fame, if this alone prompted them to forsake the comforts of civilized life, to stake their fortune, and to face the perils and hardships of the expedition. That the acquisition of wealth and fame was in part their purpose is quite conceivable and admissible. Not so, however, that it was their sole, or even their main, purpose. There is evidence, and on two scores unmistakable evidence, that the purpose of the De Soto expedition was, as in the case of the one led by Coronado at the same time, threefold; viz., (1) the solution of the so-called northern mystery, (2) the founding of a Spanish colony north of the Gulf of Mexico, and (3) the conversion of the Indians to Christianity and civilization.

As a result of the Pineda and the Narváez expeditions, 1519 and 1528, and more immediately as a result of Cabeza de Vaca's arrival in Spain, the Spanish government realized that commercial interests called for a more thorough and systematic exploration of the regions north of the Gulf of Mexico. Since the mighty Rio del Espíritu Santo, the Mississippi of today, presumably came from the distant and unexplored North, there was every reason for Spain to regard it as probable that at the source of this river lay a body of water offering passage to the Pacific and to the Orient. Should such be the case, the government authorities figured, it would be all-important that Spain make good her claim to these northern lands by occupying this body of water as well as the banks of the Rio del Espíritu Santo. Preliminary to this project, however, the existence of such a

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[16] According to the Inca, some of these survivors entered religious orders. "Others who were more prudent," he writes naively, "became religious, after the good example set them by Gonzalo Quadrato Xaramillo, who was the first to become one; who wished to shed lustre on his nobility and his past exploits by making himself a true soldier and cavalier of Our Lord Jesus Christ, placing himself under the banner and standard of a camp-master and general like the Seraphic Father Saint Francis, in whose order and profession he ended his life" (*La Florida del Inca*, pp. 263-64); Quadrato was doubtless the name this former soldier in De Soto's army received when he entered the order. See Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 69.

[17] The Elvas *Narrative*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 269-70.

body of water in the North must be ascertained. Hence, as in the case of the Coronado enterprise, one of the purposes of the simultaneous De Soto expedition was to ascertain whether in the unknown North a body of water existed which, connecting with the Rio del Espíritu Santo, would be an outlet into the South Sea, as the Pacific was then designated.

To a close reader of the accounts of De Soto and his exploit it will always appear remarkable that so little was made of the mighty Mississippi when the Spaniards beheld it for the first time. The Gentleman of Elvas, otherwise so prolix in recounting the events of those four years, merely states that De Soto "went to look at the river." Evidently, from Cabeza de Vaca's oral report De Soto was aware of the river's existence, of its unusual size, of its direction, and of its probable source; wherefore on reaching it De Soto manifested little or no surprise. What interested him much more, to judge from the records, was the fact that "near it there was much timber of which piraguas might be made"; that in these he would cross to the other bank; that in this way he would be able to continue his search for what he had so far not found and what was more immediately and more fundamentally important.

De Soto's haste and persistence in pushing forward when from the Indians he heard of a town or province where there was much gold may suggest that gold was the main, if not the sole, object of his quest. Yet, if one recalls that the ultimate goal of Spain's eager search for a straight was the Orient of a Marco Polo; and if, while reading the Elvas and other narratives, one takes notice of the strikingly oriental ring of some of the names of towns and provinces to which the Indians directed De Soto, one can readily understand why he was so bent on getting to these places. Cale, the first province heard of at Tampa Bay, may be a local corruption of Catayo or Cathai; and how oriental in sound were such other names as Caliquen, Ochus, Coça, Tali, Toasti, Saquechuma, Chicaça, Quizquiz, Casqui, and Aquigate. May not De Soto, like Christopher Columbus thirty years before, have felt certain that he had actually reached "Mago, which is part of Catayo"[18] and that by continuing west-

[18] See *Relaciones y Cartas de Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid, 1914), p. 372. As the writer has pointed out elsewhere, "Since the days of the Franciscan John de Plano Carpinis and of the Venetian explorer Marco Polo, the continent of Asia was known as Catayo (also Cathai and Cataia) and that of Japan as Cipango." See *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*, p. 2, n. 2.

ward he would eventually reach Catayo itself? What wealth and distinction would be his and what a commercial advantage his country would gain, should he succeed in locating a continuous waterway across the northern continent!

It is true, neither De Soto's official grant and instructions nor any of the contemporary accounts of the expedition contain the slightest reference to the finding of such a waterway as one of the purposes of the undertaking. It should be remembered, however, that De Soto's grant and instructions were drawn up four months before the unexpected return of Cabeza de Vaca to Spain and an entire year before De Soto's fleet sailed for Cuba. One is inclined to believe that, since the information of Cabeza de Vaca about the great river was now available, De Soto received further instructions by word of mouth and that according to these he was to regard the quest for a body of water in the North as the immediate purpose of his enterprise—a purpose which naturally was not to be published and which De Soto himself, in addition to being "dry of word,"[19] was not at liberty to reveal to others.

At all events, greed and ambition alone could scarcely have induced a man of De Soto's mentality and experience to carry on as he did. He was evidently searching for something about which he alone in the army had information. In the absence of direct written evidence, one can only conjecture what this object of his search was. But the circumstances attending the expedition seem to justify the conclusion that De Soto was seeking a body of water in the North, connecting in some way with Cabeza de Vaca's great river and offering continuous passage to the Orient.

IV

A second purpose of the De Soto expedition was the establishment of a colony north of the Gulf of Mexico. One readily understands that colonization conflicted with the quest for a strait; that, at least, both purposes could not be pursued simultaneously. This explains why the narratives give so scant attention to the project of founding a colony. Yet, the contract drawn up and signed by Charles V. shows clearly that colonization was one of the purposes of the expedition. According to

[19] See the Elvas *Narrative, loc. cit.*, p. 175. That Cabeza de Vaca conferred with the king concerning the lands he had visited is clearly stated by the Gentleman of Elvas (*Narrative, loc. cit.*, p. 246).

this contract, De Soto proposed "to be of greater service[20] to the king" and "to extend and increase Our patrimony and Royal Crown . . . by conquering and colonizing the province of the Rio de las Palmas up to Florida." At the same time, that he might be in better position to govern and provide for this new Spanish domain, De Soto asked to be appointed governor of Cuba. Both these requests were granted by the king, and the contract signed in consequence demonstrates that the establishment of a colony with a mission for the Indians was the primary purpose of the undertaking. In this new domain De Soto himself was to possess and hold in sort of feudal tenure two hundred leagues of coast land. His own salary of fifteen hundred ducats and that of the alcalde mayor replacing him in the government of Cuba were to be paid from the rents and revenues that the royal treasury would derive from these lands about to be colonized. For the first six years the Florida settlers were to be exempt from import duties on goods that they would need for their living and housing; and this same privilege was to be enjoyed by merchants and traders for the first two years. Likewise, to assist the first colonists and to stimulate emigration into Florida, no excise or other duties were to be exacted during the first ten years of settlement. In addition to founding a hospital for the poor, permission was granted to erect three fortresses of stone and eventually to import free of duty fifty Negro slaves.[21]

De Soto and those who took part in the enterprise never completely forgot this purpose that brought them to Florida. At Cufitachiqui there was talk of establishing a settlement. De Soto objected, however, declaring that the army could always return to this favorable locality, in case a richer province would not be found farther inland. He had already sent Maldonado to Cuba for provisions and had arranged with him to meet at the Rio del Espíritu Santo. Why frustrate this plan by founding a colony at Cufitachiqui? So the army penetrated farther into the interior. Eventually, Maldonado returned to the gulf coast, but failed to find De Soto and the army. The reason was because De Soto, though apprised of Maldonado's presence at Ochus, refused to coöperate with him. At Mavilla, where the

[20] than he had been, namely, in "Nicaragua and Peru and other parts of Our Indies." See Pacheco y Cardenas, *op. cit.*, vol. XXII, p. 534.

[21] Pacheco y Cardenas, *op. cit.*, vol. XXII, pp. 534-45, *passim*.

army was at the time, serious dissension was threatening the further progress of the enterprise. To meet Maldonado under these circumstances would most probably mean the cessation of forced marches and either the immediate establishment of a settlement or the complete abandonment of the project on which he had set his mind. Consequently, De Soto commanded Ortiz to withhold from the others the knowledge he had obtained of Maldonado's arrival with provisions at Ochus, only "six days' travel distant from Mavilla."[22]

After crossing the Mississippi and pursuing his project for another year, De Soto returned to the banks of the great river. "He had not found a waterway to the South Sea, but with reinforcements from Cuba he would now establish a colony and later resume his quest for the western passage."[23] Death intervened, however, for only a month after reaching Guachoya and while planning how to get in touch with Cuba, De Soto died. There is every reason to hold that "a Spanish colony with an Indian mission would have been founded either at Autiamque or at Guachoya and thereupon the problem of the northern mystery again taken up, if death had not robbed the explorers of their unflinching leader."[24]

V

The third purpose of the De Soto expedition—the conversion of the Indians—was intimately connected with the project of establishing a colony for the Spaniards. The royal grant expressly states that priests and religious were to accompany the army of De Soto. They were to "instruct the natives of that province in Our Holy Catholic Faith" and De Soto was to make ample provision for the maintenance of the missionaries and the conversion of the Indians.[25] Besides the eight secular priests, who were not members of a religious order,[26] four friars set out with De Soto and the army for Florida. Two of the friars were Dominicans; namely, Luis de Soto, a kinsman of the leader of the expedition, and Juan de Gallegos, who was a kinsman of both Báltasar de Gallegos, chief castellan of the expedition, and

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[22] The Elvas *Narrative, loc. cit.*, pp. 193-94.
[23] Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
[24] *Ibidem*, p. 29.
[25] See Pacheco y Cardenas, *op. cit.*, vol. XXII, p. 542.
[26] The names of four of the secular priests have come down to us. They are: Rodrigo de Gallegos, Diego den Bañuelos, Francisco de Poco, and Dionisio de Paris. See *La Florida del Inca*, pp. 8-9.

of Cabeza de Vaca. The third friar, Juan Torres, was a Franciscan; while the fourth, Francisco de la Rocha, was a Trinitarian.[27] At least in the beginning of her New World conquests, Spain consistently entrusted the conversion of the Indians to members of religious orders. This fact and the participation of four friars in the De Soto enterprise proves conclusively that the establishment of Indian missions was one of its purposes. Although with the failure to plant a colony of whites this project of founding missions did not materialize, a number of incidents occurred which show that the friars actually instructed some of the Indians in the tenets of Christianity and in the habits of civilized life.

At Cufitachiqui, on the Savannah River in South Carolina and near the present Silverbluff, an Indian youth "wished to become a Christian and asked to be baptized." For seven months he had been serving the Spaniards as guide. Apparently, during the time they wintered at Apalache Bay, from the end of October, 1539, to March, 1540, this youth received the necessary catechetical instruction from one of the missionary friars; wherefore, when later at Cufitachiqui he asked for baptism, he was sufficiently instructed and prepared to receive the sacrament and become a Christian. He was baptised sometime between April 26 and May 13, 1540, and was named Pedro (Peter). It is interesting to note that this is the first recorded baptism of an Indian within what is today the United States. Whether or not his request was prompted by a desire to please the Spaniards and rid himself of the chains that held him captive is beside the question. The fact is, he did not return to savagery, as he had frequent opportunity to do, but remained true both to the obligations he contracted by baptism and to the Spaniards with whom he henceforth cast his lot. He was still among them two years later at Autiamque, west of the Mississippi, where Ortiz died and where De Soto now appointed this Indian convert official interpreter in place of Ortiz. Although the records do not state it, one should like to hold that this Indian was also one of the natives who, in the spring of

[27] *Ibidem.*

1543, accompanied the Spaniards under Moscoso down the Mississippi to Mexico.[28]

Another incident which shows that the friars had opportunity to instruct the Indians who accomplished the army either by force or of their own volition, occurred after the death of De Soto. At Aminoya by order of Moscoso seven brigantines were built to carry the survivors down the Mississippi to Mexico. From the Gentleman of Elvas we learn that, besides the three hundred and twenty Spaniards preparing for the voyage, there were five hundred Indians who rightly expected to go with them. For obvious reasons Moscoso and others decided that this would not be possible. Among the Spaniards were some, however, who resented the idea of abandoning "five hundred males and females, among whom there were many boys and girls who understood and spoke Spanish." The Indians themselves were in deep grief when they heard of Moscoso's plan to depart without them. "The most of them wept, which caused great compassion, as they were all Christians of their own free will, and were now to remain lost."[29] As the present writer has explained elsewhere, "Their being 'Christians of their own free will' can mean only that they had been instructed in Christianity, had promised to embrace it, and were now already observing voluntarily the Christian precepts, especially regarding morality. But since there was no certainty that a mission would be founded, the missionaries wisely deferred their baptism."[30] It is known for certain that in the end some of these Indians sailed with the Spaniards[31] and eventually came to Guatemala with their masters. Here they came in contact with the Dominicans and doubtlessly told them not only of their fellow Dominicans, Luis

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[28] See the Elvas *Narrative, op. cit.*, pp. 174, 224; also *La Florida del Inca*, pp. 115-16, and Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 16. The Inca relates in detail how the evil spirits appeared to this youth before his baptism, instigating him against the Spaniards and mistreating him for his refusal to comply. The Elvas *Narrative* merely hints at this circumstance, saying that "an exorcism being said over him, the fit went off" (p. 169). Missionaries even today tell us how individual savages and frequently entire tribes are sometimes influenced and dominated by evil spirits.

[29] The Elvas *Narrative, loc. cit.*, p. 254.

[30] Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 24, n. 67.

[31] In *La Florida del Inca* (p. 238) we read that about twenty-five or thirty Indian men and women went with Moscoso, all the others having previously died, i. e. during the preceding winter. This statement may well be reconciled with the one of the Gentleman of Elvas who says there were five hundred such Indians. The latter does not, like the Inca, refer to the state of affairs obtaining immediately before the departure of the Spaniards.

de Soto and Juan de Gallegos, but also of Florida and its inhabitants. The Dominican deeply interested in their recital was Luis Cancer. Planning to evangelize the Florida Indians without the aid of military protection, he applied to the king for the necessary permission. In addition to issuing a grant under date of December 28, 1547, the king complied with the request of Luis Cancer on behalf of the Indians who had returned four years before with Moscoso and whom he now desired to take with him to Florida as interpreters. Accordingly, these Florida Indians were by royal decree set at liberty and ordered to proceed to Mexico. For some unknown reason only one of the Florida Indians went with Luis Cancer and the Dominicans when in 1549 they departed for Florida.[32]

At this point in our study it should be related what became of the four friars who, with the three Franciscans at this time in New Mexico,[33] deserve to be remembered as the earliest missionaries among the Indians inhabiting our south-central States four centuries ago. The Trinitarian, Francisco de la Rocha, was not present at the death of De Soto, having previously succumbed to the hardships of the expedition. The other three, however, were still living at the time; namely, the two Dominicans, Luis de Soto and Juan Gallegos, and the Franciscan, Juan Torres. According to the Inca, from whom these facts are gathered, these friars died during the time that Moscoso endeavored to reach Mexico overland and before the seven barges were ready to take the survivors down the Mississippi. The Inca accords the friars this testimony: "In addition to their holiness and priestly office, they were all men of nobility; and while they lived they worthily exercised their office as religious, confessing and exhorting those to die well who were at the point of death, and instructing and baptising the Indians who persevered in the service of the Spaniards."[34] Had De Soto lived to establish a colony, also a mission would have been founded for the Indians on the banks of the Mississippi.

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[32] See Antonio de Remesal, O. P., *Historia de Chiapa y Guatemala* (Madrid, 1619), pp. 514-15; also Lowery, *op. cit.*, pp. 415-18.

[33] These, accompanying Coronado and his expedition (see above, note 13), were Juan de Padilla, Juan de la Cruz, and Luis de Ubeda. The first two were priests, the third a lay brother. See Steck, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33, 36-37.

[34] *La Florida del Inca*, p. 267.

VI

The four years that elapsed, from the landing of the Spaniards on the peninsula of Florida to their return to Mexico, were by no means a period of godless and beastly living on the part of the explorers, nor a series of wanton cruelties perpetrated on the Indians. There is abundant evidence to show that De Soto and his followers were, generally speaking, faithful to their duties as Christians and Catholics and that in their dealings with the Indians they were not "sons of perdition," as Las Casas and later writers would have us believe.

In many cases the Indians not only proved hostile and treacherous, but forfeited kindness and confidence by first feigning peace and friendship and then, if the Spaniards ventured forth in smaller detachments or lay stricken with hunger and disease, attacking them with all the fury of their savage nature. It was now to forestall a rumored attack, then to procure food for his starving men, at one time to obtain necessary information, at another time to secure guides and interpreters—always in cases where the mere detention of an Indian cacique or the attempt at peaceful negotiations fell short of its purpose—that De Soto was compelled by circumstances to resort to drastic measures. Neither was the expedition a venture to catch Indian slaves. This De Soto made clear to Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, his captain-general, shortly after their landing in Florida. Porcallo, a prosperous land-owner of Cuba, had furnished provisions for the expedition.[35] Probably to recompense him, De Soto appointed him captain-general of the army, little thinking that this officer would cause trouble. Within two months after their arrival, in the town of Ucita, "there grew up such a difference between him and Soto," the Gentleman of Elvas writes, "that neither of them treated nor spoke to the other kindly." The quarrel arose because "the principle object of Vasco Porcallo in coming to Florida had been to get slaves for his plantation and mines"; but, "finding, after some incursions, that no seizures could be made, because of dense forest and extensive bogs, he determined to go back to Cuba." This naturally angered De Soto whose object in coming was not to catch slaves. Rather than have the evil example and practice of a man, like

[35] He did the same some ten years before when Pánfilo de Narváez was about to sail to Florida. See *The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, edited by Frederick W. Hodge in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543—Original Narratives of Early American History* Series (New York, 1907), p. 15.

Porcallo, frustrate the purpose of the expedition, De Soto permitted him to return to his plantations and mines in Cuba.[36]

It is a mistake to think that famished dogs were employed to tear Indians to pieces. In some instances, indeed, De Soto set dogs on runaway Indians. But these dogs were trained merely to seize and hold their quarry until Spaniards arrived and recaptured the Indian. It is true, to extract information from the Indians or to inspire them with fear or worse reprisals, De Soto at times resorted to torture and mutilation. However, this was in keeping with the standards of his day and it was practiced, even officially, in Christian Europe at the time. When dealing with treachery or insubordination, De Soto was stern and unrelenting because the circumstances demanded it. He was so, in one instance at least, even toward his own men. At Saquechuma, he had four Spaniards arrested and condemned to death because they had stolen "some skins and shawls from the Indians." Their lives were saved only through the strategy of Ortiz who cunningly misinterpreted the complaint of the Indian cacique into a plea for clemency and in this way deceived De Soto.[37] It happened also that subordinates in the army, like Porcallo, frustrated De Soto's efforts to avoid conflict. Thus at Cufitachiqui the friendly relation previously established between the Spaniards and the Indians was cut short and hostility created against the Spaniards by the imprudence of a scouting party, "there never failing to be men of low degree among the many," as the Gentleman of Elvas observes.[38]

The same reason that formerly in warfare centered the attention of combatants on the king or leader of the enemy prompted also De Soto to single out the Indian cacique and to endeavor either to capture him or to have his Indians deliver him. With the cacique in his power, De Soto controlled the situation; "for by thus having them," to quote the Gentleman of Elvas, "the inhabitants would wait their arrival in the towns, give a guide, and men to carry the loads." He adds that "before leaving their country [the guides and carriers] would have liberty to return to their homes, as sometimes would the tamemes, so soon as they came to the domain of any chief where

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[36] The Elvas *Narrative*, *loc. cit.*, p. 154.
[37] *Ibidem*, p. 196.
[38] *Ibidem*, pp. 175-76.

others could be got."[39] In other words, the Indian carriers as well as the guides were set free as soon as others could be obtained to replace them. In many cases, however, even Indian servants preferred to remain with the army. If they gave signs of sincerity, De Soto permitted this; whereupon, to quote the Gentleman of Elvas again, they "were taken along loose (i. e. unfettered), doing the work, and in very little time learning the Spanish language."[40] Similarly, an instance is related where De Soto had "no food to give to the Indians of Patofa." So he dismissed them, "though they still wished to keep with the Christians [Spaniards] in their extremity, and showed great regret at going back before leaving them in a peopled country."[41]

De Soto and his officers had to be constantly on their guard against Indian treachery. At Malapaz, in token of peace and friendship, the cacique provided food for the army and promised De Soto a guide. In return, he asked that the twenty-eight Indians, taken the day before, be set free. De Soto granted this request, but suspected treachery and placed the cacique under guard. His suspicion was justified. On the following day the cacique tried to escape; whereupon De Soto "ordered a bloodhound, already fleshed upon him, to be let loose, which, passing by many, seized the faithless cacique, and held him until the Christians [Spaniards] had come up."[42] At Tascaluça, the cacique sent an Indian runner with a message to the cacique of Mavilla, at the same time assuring De Soto that he was requesting this cacique to have "provisions in readiness and Indians for loads" when the Spaniards would arrive at Mavilla. Apparently, against the warning of an officer, De Soto trusted the wily cacique of Tascaluça. In advance of the main army and accompanied by this cacique and a detachment of men, he set out for Mavilla. Scarcely had they reached this town when the cacique of Tascaluça turned against the Spaniards, defiantly and arrogantly rejecting De Soto's offer of peace and friendship. Evidently, he was convinced that, in consequence of his message, the cacique and Indians of Mavilla were prepared to resist the Spaniards. Nor was he mistaken. Probably not a Spaniard would have escaped the massacre, if the cavalry had not come

[39] *Ibidem*, p. 184. The tamemes were Indian servants, as distinguished from guides and carriers.
[40] *Ibidem*, p. 161.
[41] *Ibidem*, p. 171.
[42] *Ibidem*, p. 157.

up in time and turned the tide in favor of De Soto and his army. This battle of Mavilla would assuredly not have occurred if the Indians had been sincere and upright in their dealings with De Soto.[43] The same is true of the encounter that took place at Chicaça, where the Spaniards passed the winter of 1540-1541, in peace and harmony, with the Indians. Yet, secretly, the cacique was bent on their ruin. Having previously failed to entrap De Soto, he made a last effort the following March, when the Spaniards were about to resume their journey. De Soto asked for two hundred carriers and the cacique agreed to lay the matter before his chiefs. A few days later De Soto again asked for the carriers, whereupon the cacique promised to supply them the next day. By this time, of course, he had his warriors in readiness for the onslaught, and that night a bloody encounter occurred between the Indians and the wholly unsuspecting and unprepared Spaniards.[44]

These are two of the numerous instances of treachery on the part of the Indians, fully disproving the opinion that De Soto met them "only as foemen, harassing his march." Invariably, whenever the caciques with their Indians were friendly and peaceful, De Soto was kind and even courteous, respecting their rights and requesting of them nothing more than food for his army or information concerning the country beyond or carriers for the army's equipment and provisions or guides and interpreters for the journey. At Casqui, for instance, De Soto not only made friends with the cacique, but learning that enmity existed between the people of Casqui and those of Pacaha, he had the two caciques meet and conclude peace; whereupon, to quote the Gentleman of Elvas, he "placed them at the table, that they should eat with him. They had difficulty as to who should sit at his right hand, which the Governor [De Soto] quieted by telling them that among Christians the one seat was as good as the other."[45] This may not have been entirely true, but it was certainly conducive to peace. The same token of friendship, by having the caciques sit at table with him, De Soto extended to those of Saquechuma and Chicaça, although at the very time the latter cacique was secretly hatching a plot to murder De Soto and his men.[46] At Autiamque, where the

[43] *Ibidem*, pp. 189-93.
[44] *Ibidem*, pp. 195-99.
[45] *Ibidem*, p. 212.
[46] *Ibidem*, p. 196.

Spaniards spent the winter of 1541-42, peace and harmony prevailed, the Indians even teaching the Spaniards how to make traps with which to catch rabbits.[47] From incidents of this kind one gains a far more favorable impression concerning the ways and means of De Soto and his army. They are gathered from the same source of information, the Elvas *Narrative,* that has served writers to blacken the memory of the expedition.

Another largely unnoticed aspect of the expedition is the religious spirit that prevailed in the army. During the first year and a half, Holy Mass was celebrated on Sundays and feast days of obligation. This is evident from the fact that De Soto provided for this before leaving Cuba. Moreover, as the Inca tells us, De Soto was particularly careful during the expedition to guard the wheat-flour and the wine against possible contamination and theft.[48] The battle at Mavilla, unfortunately, resulted in the loss of what was needed for the celebration of the August Mysteries.[49] In addition, the Inca informs us of what took place in this regard after the battle. " . . . thereafter," he writes, "by order of the priests an altar was erected and adorned on Sundays and holy days of obligation. . . . A priest vested in ornaments made of hide. . . . Standing at the altar, he said the Confiteor, the Introit of the Mass, and the Oration, Epistle, and Gospel, and all the rest up to the end of the Mass, without consecrating. The Spaniards called this the *Misa seca,*[50] and the one who said the Mass or another priest read the Gospel and delivered a sermon on it. From this way of performing the ceremonies which are observed in Mass, they derived consolation in the distress they felt at not being able to adore Our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ under the Sacramental Species. This lasted almost for three years, up to the time they left Florida for the land of the Christians."[51] The Spaniards were in no way under obligation to resort to this expedient. That they did so, nevertheless, shows how deeply devoted they were to the sublime mystery of the Blessed Eucharist.

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[47] *Ibidem,* p. 223.
[48] *La Florida del Inca,* p. 159.
[49] The Elvas *Narrative, loc. cit.,* p. 193.
[50] i. e. the *dry Mass*—thus referred to, goodnaturedly, by the soldiers because wine and wheat-flour were wanting. On this account, we may add, the essential parts of the Mass—Offertory, Consecration, and Communion—had to be omitted.
[51] *La Florida del Inca,* p. 159.

From the Gentleman of Elvas we learn also whether and to what extent the law of fast and abstinence was kept during the expedition. When De Soto died, his personal property was sold to the army. In this way seven hundred hogs came into the possession of the soldiers. No doubt, that the less thrifty among his followers might have food when hunger became unbearable, De Soto had carefully guarded these hogs against disease and theft. At all events, "from that time forward most of the people owned and raised hogs; they lived on pork, observed Fridays and Saturdays, and the vespers [i. e. vigils] of holidays, which they had not done before; for, at times, they had passed two or three months without tasting any meat, and on the day they got any, it had been their custom to eat it."[52] In doing so, needless to add, they were justified. At this point, the Inca relates the interesting circumstance that, while the seven brigantines were building, the Spaniards "tried to catch fish in the Rio Grande [the Mississippi], because it was Lent and they needed them."[53] He tells also how, during this period of Lent, they held the prescribed procession on Palm Sunday.[54]

On two occasions De Soto set up a Cross in the Indian village where his army was encamped; namely in March, 1540, at Achese and a year later at Casqui. What took place at Casqui is particularly edifying. The cacique had taken De Soto to be a child of the sun, i. e. a god, and had asked him to restore sight to two blind Indians.[55] However horrified he was at being taken for a god, De Soto was deeply touched, especially when the two blind men arose and joined their cacique in his petition. In reply, he told the assembled Indians "that in heaven above there was One who had the power to make them whole, and do whatever they should ask of Him; whose servant he was; that this great Lord made the sky and the earth, and man after his image; that He had suffered on the tree of the cross to save the

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[52] The Elvas *Narrative, loc. cit.*, p. 235.

[53] *La Florida del Inca*, p. 230.

[54] *Ibidem*, p. 230. The Inca (p. 231) also relates, on the authority of Carmona, that at this time the Mississippi rose so rapidly that two days after the Palm Sunday procession the roads in the town were impassable. The Gentleman of Elvas in his *Narrative* (p. 251) describes the flood, but says nothing about the procession. His description of the Mississippi flood is certainly the first on record.

[55] Farther south, some ten years earlier, Cabeza de Vaca was gaining prestige among the Indians by the wonderful cures he performed on their sick. (See *The Narrative of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, loc. cit., passim.* Had the Indians at Casqui heard of Cabeza de Vaca and his cures? Had some of them, perhaps, even come in contact with him?

human race, and risen from the grave on the third day,—what of man there was of Him dying, what of divinity being immortal; and that, having ascended into heaven, He was there with open arms to receive all that would be converted to Him." To impress this fundamental doctrine of Christianity vividly on the minds of the Indians, De Soto then "directed a lofty cross of wood to be made and set up in the highest part of the town, declaring to the cacique that the Christians worshipped [i. e. venerated] that, in the form and memory of the one on which Christ suffered." The next step was to demonstrate this worship; hence De Soto "placed himself with his people before it, on their knees, which the Indians did likewise; and he told them that from that time thenceforth they should thus worship the Lord, of whom he had spoken to them, that was in the skies, asking Him for whatsoever they stood in need of."[56] Perhaps it was on the strength of this assurance that the cacique complained of the drought which was visiting his land and ruining the crops. The Inca relates on the authority of Coles that in honor of the Cross a procession was held, in which the cacique and his Indians took part. He adds that on the following night it rained heavily and that this continued for two days, "over which the Indians were very happy and contented."[57] These and similar incidents must have made a wholesome impression on the Indians, especially on those who by this time were accompanying the Spaniards and were receiving instructions from the missionaries.

The most tragic event of the expedition was unquestionably the death of the leader, occurring at a time when the prospect of founding a colony and a mission was brightest. He died as he had lived, sharing the frailties and faults of a child of Adam, but never discarding completely the ideals and principles of a Christian. When death came to summon him before his Judge, De Soto was not unprepared, as Las Casas so unkindly supposed. Realizing that his hour had come, he summoned his officers to his deathbed. After providing for the future safety and well-being of the army, he thanked his men for their past services

[56] The Elvas *Narrative*, pp. 207-08. See also Herrera (*op. cit.*, p. 32) who at this point and evidently on the authority of the Inca tells of the "miracle which God worked in Casqui." Having seen how the Spaniards erected and venerated the Cross, the Indians complained to them of the drought that was threatening their crops and asked them to pray for rain. The Spaniards complied and that same night a heavy rain fell.

[57] *La Florida del Inca*, pp. 179-80.

and asked them to remember him in their prayers. This much, in addition to the death and burial, is related by the Gentleman of Elvas.[58] He neglects to tell us, however, that De Soto arranged also the affairs of his immortal soul by confessing his sins to one of the priests and receiving sacramental absolution. This we learn from the narrative of the Inca whose witnesses in this instance, as he states expressly, are Carmona and Coles. He writes that "with sorrow and compunction over having offended God he confessed his sins."[59] If he did this much, then we may safely conclude that the priest gave him the sacraments by imparting absolution. As we know from the Inca, three of the friars were still among the living when De Soto breathed his last. One of these was his own kinsman, the Dominican Luis de Soto, who undoubtedly pronounced the last prayers when the corpse was consigned to its last resting-place.

Thus without having achieved the purpose for which he left Havana three years before, De Soto departed this life, on the banks of the great river which he hoped would connect with some body of water in the distant North and in the region where, if he had lived, a colony and a mission would have been founded. As a Christian, as a Spaniard, and as a leader of men —loyal to his God and to his country and severely honest in his dealings with men—De Soto deserves a far brighter niche in the temple of fame than most historians in the past have accorded him; while, in loftiness of purpose and in equity of ways and means, the expedition he conducted across our southern borderlands is a pioneering enterprise that merits a fairer page than has heretofore been allotted to it in the annals of American history.

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[58] The Elvas *Narrative*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 232-34.
[59] *La Florida del Inca*, p. 207. See also Herrera, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

THE COLUMBUS PROBLEM
A STUDY IN MODERN HISTORIOGRAPHY[1]

A characteristic of our times which affords but little cause for gratification is subjectivism. Not the real, the thoroughly tested, the solidly established, the judgment of the many pass current today, but the individual with his viewpoint colored by the background of his family, parish, province, nation. Such subjectivism, which often enough is nothing else than disguised egoism, is becoming more and more an authoritative norm. As in all other fields, so in that of modern historical literature, this characteristic can be easily recognized. An example in point is the Columbus literature, which illustrates at the same time what confusion such subjectivism may cause in political and religious fields.

Until about fifty years ago the historical picture of Columbus, in its main features, was solidly established. But in more recent times the whole edifice of research on the Columbus problem has been undermined, and draymen are already busied in carting away the debris and fashioning from its wreckage a moving-picture theater in which the great discoverer of the New World is filmed before the eyes of a surprised and frightened public, now as a liar and deceiver, now as a cruel barbarian, and finally as a perfect moron.

The number of the books on Columbus is legion. A French investigator says not without reason: "So many books on Columbus have been printed that their number would have sufficed as ballast for all his fleet." Hence it is out of the question to mention even the principal works here. A more or less complete list can be found only in the large bibliographies on

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[1] *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXX, 1930, pp. 195-207. The author of this article, Bernard Duhr, S. J., died on September 21, 1930. He was born at Cologne on August 2, 1852. After the completion of his theological studies, he devoted himself wholly to the study of history and, with tireless diligence, wrote a series of volumes whose value was unanimously recognized by serious historical critics. For a great many years (from 1883 to the time of his death) he was also one of the most diligent of the editors of the *Stimmen der Zeit*. R. I. P. The translator of the article is Bernard A. Hausmann, S. J.

the discoverer which have been compiled in America, Italy, and Spain.[2]

Among the most diligent but not always the most fortunate investigators must be numbered the American diplomat, Henry Vignaud. Born in 1830 in New Orleans, he was for a long time secretary to the American embassy in Paris. Almost the whole leisure of a long life (he died in 1922 in Bagneux-Seine) was devoted to investigation of the Columbus literature. As the fruit of his labors he published a series of critical studies on the life of the discoverer,[3] and, in addition, monographs on various questions, among them seven larger and smaller works on the Toscanelli question alone, that is, the relation of Columbus to the famous Florentine physician and cosmographist, Paolo Toscanelli. Vignaud belongs to the school of subjectivist historians, for whom not the fact, but the subjective judgment of the historian is the decisive element. As a result purely subjective suspicions and probabilities loom large in his studies and not infrequently bar for him the road to the truth. The Italian investigator, Cesare de Lollis, says of him that in conformity with his principles he erects his structure on that which does not exist and consequently destroys that which does. For him sentiment must do what the intellect can not.[4] Sumier characterizes such proceedings accurately when he says that there are historians who, in solving an historical question of considerable difficulty, set aside contemporary witnesses who might throw some light on the problem, and blithly give full play to their imaginations, thus exposing themselves to the danger of

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[2] The oldest literature has been gathered by the American jurist Henry Harisse in his *Bibliotheca americana vetustissima. A description of books relating to America published between the years 1492 and 1551*, New York, 1866. The *Real Academia de la Historia* in Madrid published the *Bibliografia Colombina* in 1892 treating of the Spanish works on Columbus. (For a criticism see Harisse, *Christophe Colomb et les academiciens espagnols*, Paris, 1894.) The Italian authors are most completely listed by Fumagalli in his *Bibliografia degli scritti italiani sopra Cristoforo Colombo* (1892). This work forms a part (Part VI) of the great collection published by the Italian government entitled, *Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombina*, 1892-1894, in fourteen folio volumes. Excellent summaries are found in Vignaud's *Chr. Colomb*, II (1911) pp. 629-703, and in Caddeo's *Le historie della vita e dei fatti di Cr. Colombo per D. Fern. Colombo*, I (1930) LXXVI sqq.

[3] *Études critiques sur la vie de Colomb avant ses découvertes*, Paris 1905.—*Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb*, 2 vols., Paris, 1911.

[4] *Crist. Colombo*, 3 edition, xvii xxv, Rome, 1923. Lollis criticises him even more severely in his book, *Chi cerca trova*, Rome, 1925.

falling from one error into another.[5] A student of historical questions, equally as diligent as Vignaud, is his compatriot Henry Harrisse, a New York lawyer. Hoebler distinguishes a new epoch of Columbus literature with him beginning in 1872.[6] Prior to his *magnum opus* in two volumes (*Christophe Colomb*, Paris, 1884) based on unpublished documents from the Italian and Spanish archives, he published a dozen books on Columbus and his family. His judgments, too, are at times erroneous, because colored by subjectivism. Thus, for instance, when he rules out the *Historie* by Ferdinand Columbus, and disparagingly criticises the *Historia de las Indias* by Las Casas.[7]

Among the more recent works from the pen of Americans, Juan Valera in the twenty-fourth number of the Madrid *El Centenario* (1892) praises as possibly the best the two volumes by John Fiske, *The Discovery of America* (Boston, 1892).*

Menendez y Pelayo gives an excellent summary of the abundant Spanish literature in numbers 20 and 22 of *El Centenario* (Madrid, 1892).[8] He ascribes epoch-making importance to the great collection of the Spanish historiographer and seaman, Martin Fernandez de Navarrete.[9] In particular he mentions the captain and chronicler of the Spanish fleet, Fernandez Duro (died 1908), who, in a series of articles published between 1877 and 1892 dealt with the nautical problems involved and with the relation of the discoverer to his comrade Pinzon. Duro writes against the unqualified admirers of Columbus, especially against Count Roselly, of whom we shall have occasion to speak again,

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[5] *Correspondance Toscanelli-Colomb* (Paris, 1927), p. 89.

[6] *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 57 (1887), p. 222.

[7] Many of the mistakes of Harrisse are pointed out by the temperamental pastor of the Loreto church in Lisbon, Prospero Peragello, who used in the main Portuguese archives in his *L'autenticità delle Historie di Ferdinando Colombo e le critiche del S. E. Harrisse* (Genoa, 1884), and in *Errori d. S. H.* (Lisbon, 1888). This controversy is reviewed by Büdinger in the *Mitteilungen der k. k. Geographischen Gesellschaft* of Vienna, vol. 32 (1889), pp. 397 sqq. Though recognizing fully the work of Harrisse, Büdinger speaks of his "seriously erroneous conclusions" and says "that Mr. Harrisse not so very infrequently expresses views and detailed deductions without having adequately studied the documents in his possession" (402).

*[Fiske does not rank high with present-day critical historians. See J. B. Sanders, "John Fiske," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, xvii, (1930), 277. Ed.]

[8] This summary is found in German at least in part in *Chr. Columbus —Studien zur spanischen vierten Zentenarfeier der Entdeckung Americas* by John Fastenrath (Dresden, 1895), pp. 323 sqq.

[9] *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos*, Madrid, 1825-1837, in five volumes.

and against the whole "Columbus legend." The most comprehensive Spanish collection is the *de luxe* edition, richly illustrated, in two folio volumes, edited on the occasion of the centenary by the director of the Academy at Seville, Dr. Jose Mario Asensio.[10] In his treatment of his subject he is as far removed from the attitude of Roselly as from the opposite tendency of Fernandez Duro.

The more recent German literature on Columbus is not very abundant; it manifests an attitude toward the discoverer which is not at all friendly and is in stark contrast to the former judgment of Alexander von Humboldt. An Italian accuses the modern German writers on Columbus of a hypercritical mania *(rabbia ipercritica)* worthy of a better cause. They sought to destroy the reputation and character of Columbus. A German investigator, he tells us, demonstrated in 1887 the existence in Germany of "a movement actually inimical to Columbus."[11] This accusation is not without foundation. Even as early as 1865 Peschel spoke in very unfriendly terms of the great discoverer in his *Geschichte der Erdkunde.* Colón is for him, in the motly crew of fortune seekers, only the luckiest player, whose greed for gold is greater than his urge for discovery. Even worse treatment does Columbus receive at the hands of the Dresden professor Ruge in his address, *Die Weltanschauung des Kolumbus* (Dresden, 1876). This address was hotly attacked in 1877 by Wappäus, a professor at Göttingen.[12] By way of introduction he also condemns the conclusions of Peschel. He writes: "In particular Peschel strives to destroy that admiration and reverence which eminent historians and biographers, such as Robertson, Irving, Alexander von Humboldt have aroused by emphasizing the psychologically remarkable and admirable perseverance of Columbus in his life's work." Ruge goes even further. "He is actually intent on making Columbus contemptible." In his estimation Columbus is not even a practical seaman, and was always "a servant of the monks even to debasing servility." Against such treatment of the discoverer of the New World Wappäus in the name of science calls a halt and raises the question: What was it that could have influenced Ruge "to make of Columbus an object of contempt, nay to

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[10] *Cristobal Colon,* Barcelona, 1892.

[11] Erm. Loevisson, *Cr. Colombo nella letteratura tedesca* (Rome, 1893), p. 5.

[12] *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen,* 1877, 1, pp. 562 sqq.

strive to kill him scientifically and morally?" Humboldt in his classic *Examen critique* (1836) had sketched Columbus with admiration and reverence. "Humboldt knew what it meant to make expeditions of discovery such as Columbus made, and was, therefore, in a position to know the true Columbus far better than a German professor of geography, who, in the quiet of his study, works at the mapping of the globe."

Ruge strikes a gentler note in his small, yet otherwise thorough monograph Chr. Kolumbus, Dresden, 1892 (3 edition, 1927), "although many a judgment still appears to us as too hard and too little established."[13]

Konrad Kretschmer judges very much like Ruge in his festal address to the Berlin Geographical Society on the occasion of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. This address, dedicated to the Emperor William II, was intended by its promoters "to contribute to honor the memory of the great Genoese"; the very opposite is the aim of Kretschmer. If we trust him, only demoniacal greed for gold spurred Columbus on to his bold achievement. Columbus is uncritical, stubborn, headstrong, even against his better knowledge. A self-conscious sense of his own importance and a fantastic fanaticism guided the puffed-up festal speaker.[14]

It is of the greatest importance for all investigation of the Columbus question to evaluate accurately the manuscript material on hand, that is, to determine just how much is certainly from the pen of Columbus and how much is not. Various attempts to do this were made, but none of them proved sufficiently conclusive. Only as late as 1928 did Father Streicher finally succeed in doing so. He collected all the available manuscript material, especially the very abundant marginal notes and partially on the basis of a thorough comparison with originals tested them with minute care paleographically and thus eliminated those manuscripts which hitherto had been considered autographs from the pen of Columbus. Even though there may still be room for a difference of opinion about one or the other

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[13] Thus Gelčich in *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, 19 (1892), p. 226.

[14] Konrad Kretschmer, *Die Entdeckung Amerikas in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte des Weltbildes*, with forty maps in color, Berlin, 1892. Even in his factual reconstructions Kretschmer is not always trustworthy. Cf. Wagner's article on *Rekonstruktion der Toscanelli-Karte*, which appeared in *Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, historical section, 1894, p. 209.

short passage, about one or another stroke or mark, nevertheless, we may consider the result attained at the expense of such vast labors as altogether certain.[15]

In recent Columbus literature many questions are still hotly debated; thus about Pinzón,[16] Bobadilla,[17] Fernando,[18] Toscanelli. gello, *L'autenticità delle Historie di Fern. Colombo* (Genoa, 1884). The question of the relationship of this latter individual, the famous Florentine doctor and cosmographer, to Columbus has already produced a whole literature. The authenticity of the map of Toscanelli and the accompanying explanatory letter seems to have been established; but whether Columbus personally wrote to Toscanelli and whether the latter answered him, is a question which still demands further research.[19]

The questions of name, birthplace, and year of birth may now be considered as settled.[20] Nevertheless, in most recent years the question of the extraction of the great discoverer is again being discussed. Early Columbus literature is not acquainted with this problem: these authors were entirely convinced that Columbus was an Italian. But today many Spaniards over-exert themselves in their endeavors to claim Columbus entirely for their fatherland. Just as in the days of old

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[15] Fritz Streicher, S. J., *Die Kolumbus-Originale—Eine paläographische Studie* published in *Spanische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft,* 1 (Munster, 1928), pp. 196-251. Cf. the judgment of the Spanish investigator Romulo D. Corbia in his *La supercheria en la historia del descubrimiento de America* (Buenos Aires, 1929), 5, which is in perfect agreement with the conclusions of Father Streicher.

[16] Duro, *Colón y Pinzón,* Madrid, 1883.—Asensio, *Mart. Alonso Pinzón,* Madrid, 1892.

[17] Caddeo, *Le Historie,* 2, pp. 189 sq. Fastenrath, pp. 395 sqq.

[18] Harrisse, *Fernand Colomb* (Paris, 1872). Against Harrisse, Pera-

[19] Altolaguirre y Duvale, *Colón y Toscanelli* (Madrid, 1903). Caddeo, 2, pp. 339 sqq. Against Vignaud's *La lettre et la carte de Toscanelli* (Paris, 1901), in which he declares the whole thing a forgery, two writers are determined opponents, Wagner on cartographic grounds in the *Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen,* 164 (1902) 1, 108 sqq., ("an artificial structure of hypotheses"), and Sumier on linguistic grounds in *La correspondance du savant Florentin Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli avec Chr. Colomb* (Paris, 1927). Cf. also Wagner on *Die Rekonstruktion der Toscanelli-Karte* published in the *Göttinger Nachrichten der katolischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft,* Historical section, 1894, number 3, pp. 208 sqq. Also the tremendous folio volume of Uzielli, *La vita e i tempi di P. Toscanelli* (Rome, 1894), in the *Raccolta Colombia* P. V., vol. 1.

[20] The original name is Colombo, which later in Portugal became Colomo. In Spain the form Colón is official since 1492. Cf. Caddeo, *Le Historie,* 2, pp. 373 sqq., and Altolaguirre y Duvale, *Colón Español?* (Madrid, 1923), pp. 29 sq. The year of birth, which formerly was assigned various dates between 1430 and 1456, has now been certainly fixed as 1451 as a result of the study of the legal documents of Genoa. Cf. for detailed proof Vignaud's *Études critiques sur la vie de Colomb avant ses découvertes* (1905), pp. 193-267.

seven cities fought over Homer, so today there are almost seven Spanish provinces that plume themselves on the distinction of having been the birthplace of Columbus, for instance Galicia, Catalonia, Estremadura, etc. For many a Spaniard this is a question purely of honor *(la gloria de nuestra patria)*. Since the day when the Spanish historian, De la Riega, proposed and defended the thesis, "Columbus a Spanish Jew" before the Geographical Society of Madrid (December, 1898) and more especially since he believed himself to have established his thesis by means of many documents in his book, *Colón Español* (1914), this question is not allowed to rest. Even recently a Spanish newspaper offered a considerable sum of money as a prize to be given to anyone who should prove that Columbus was of Spanish extraction. However, this prize-money will never be collected, for the question has been scientifically settled, especially since the archives of Genoa were thrown open for scientific investigation. Genoa was and will ever remain the birth-place of Columbus.

Under these circumstances we can not but be grateful to Father Streicher for examining once more the whole question from a purely scientific standpoint in the light of the extensive literary output on this question. He does so in his thesis, *Die Heimat des Kolumbus,* a monograph which must finally and definitely settle the question for men of scientific attainments even though they be Spaniards.[21]

Father Streicher proves at great length that all contemporary authors in Italy as well as in Spain speak of Columbus as an Italian, and more particularly as a Genoese, and that universally without a single dissenting voice. These testimonies are conclusive and were so considered for centuries until Chauvinism discarded them. All public documents, the Spanish, as well as and more particularly the Italian, certainly establish the proposition: Columbus is a Genoese. The twenty-three documents from Pontevedra discovered by Riego, which give Galicia as his birthplace, are not only disputable on paleographic grounds, because they have been disfigured by a later hand with interpolations, erasures, corrections, but are also valueless in the settling of this question on diplomatic grounds. A scientific commission of the Real Academia de la Historia at Madrid

[21] *Spanische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft,* 2 (1929), pp. 1-25 (3 illustrations).

established this fact.[22] Up to date not a single public document has been found in Spain which designates Columbus as a Spaniard.

Absolutely conclusive are the Italian legal documents for the period 1429-1578 which were published in 1892 and 1904. They established not only the year of birth, 1451, but also the possessions of the father, Dominic, and his three sons, Christopher, Bartholomew, and James (*dictus* Dieghus) at Genoa. The latter acquired the rights of a native Spaniard through a *Real Cédula* of February 8, 1504. A document from 1470 lists the debts of Dominic de Colombo and his son, Christopher, to one Jerome de Portu. The two debtors did not satisfy their obligations at the time. Christopher did not do so even later. Only in the codicil to his will, written on May 19, 1506, did he oblige his son Diego to pay to the heirs of Jerome del Puerto *veynte ducados o su valor;* he imposed further obligations on the heirs of the Genoese merchants Centurion and Negro, with whom, according to Genoese documents, he had had litigations. Since Diego, too, did not satisfy these obligations imposed on him by his father, he in turn in his will of September 8, 1523, imposed them on his heirs.

With such conclusive evidence the ancient traditions about Columbus, at one time so vehemently attacked, are established beyond the shadow of a doubt. Columbus himself often enough designated himself while in Spain as an *extranjero.* In his *Majoratsstiftung* (a document fixing the order of succession to his property) of September 28, 1498, which has been proved genuine against all possibility of doubt by the discovery in 1925 of a royal confirmation issued on September 28, 1501, he says explicitly that "as a Genoese by birth" *(que siendo yo nacido en Génova)* he makes certain dispositions with regard to his natal city, Genoa. Besides, his son Ferdinand and the two biographers, Las Casas and Oviedo, emphasize expressly the fact of his birth in Genoa.

Just as the thesis, Colón, a Spaniard, is a favorite in Spain today, so is the thesis, Colón, a Jew. The first thesis is certainly false and with this one the second also falls to the ground. The documents of Riega are equally valueless for either proposition. A collection of Old Testament texts, which has been ascribed to

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[22] *Informe sobre algunos documentos utilizados par D. Celso García de la Riega en sus libros "La Gallega" y "Colón Español"* (Madrid, press of the *Revista de Archivos,* 1929, 25 pages with 14 illustrations).

Columbus, in themselves prove nothing for this thesis; besides, as Father Streicher shows, they were neither written nor collected by Columbus. Others strive to prove this point by the fact that Jews promoted the enterprise of Columbus and participated in the expedition of discovery. Columbus took three Jews along on his trip, one as interpreter, one as ship's doctor, and one as surgeon. Why these Jews should have allowed themselves to be won for such a perilous undertaking, becomes plain when we consider the conditions of the times. On March 31, 1492, an edict of banishment of the Jews was published. On August 2, of the same year, it was put into effect and 300,000 Jews were driven from the country. On August 3, Columbus weighed anchor. It is true that Columbus dealt with Jews. As from others, so also from them he sought light on cosmographic and nautical questions. He also found promoters in their midst. But all this does not prove that he was himself a Jew, or even of Jewish extraction. Not a single document can be brought forward to substantiate the statement: Columbus, a Jew. On the contrary we have an original document dating from 1535 in which the courageous Diego Mendez, the confidant and constant companion of the admiral, states under oath that neither Columbus nor his descendants are of Jewish extraction. *(Que no les toca raça de Judío ni converso ni de moro ni de villano,).*

Among contemporary biographers and authors and their immediate successors we can find no trace of an affirmation of Jewish descent. A student of the history of the Jews especially in Spain published a book in 1894 under the title, *Christoph Kolumbus und der Anteil der Juden an den spanischen und portugiesischen Entdeckungen.* He shows here in detail the relation of Columbus to the Jews, but never a syllable that Columbus himself was a Jew. In one passage he energetically refutes the statement made by some authors that the grandfather of the lady whom Columbus married was a Jew.[23]

Therefore the question, "was Columbus a Jew?" must be answered with an emphatic negative.

An equally emphatic negative is the answer to that other question, "was Columbus a Don Quixote?"

The Frenchman, Marius André, has a chapter in his book,

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[23] Recently Caddeo, the editor of the critical edition of the *Historie della vita de Cr. Colombo per D. Fernando Colombo* (Milan, 1930), vol. 2, p. 352, brands the assertion that Columbus was of Jewish extraction as a fable. "In the veins of Columbus there was not a drop of Jewish blood."

La véridique aventure de Christophe Colomb (Paris, 1927), which he entitles, "A Don Quixote who read too many Bible and Sea stories—An Admiral who deserved death." The responsibility for having invented the simile, Columbus a Don Quixote, belongs to James Wassermann in his *Christoph Kolumbus, der Don Quichotte des Ozeans—Ein Portrait* (Berlin, 1-10 editions 1929; 11-21 editions 1929), published by Fischer. Wassermann did not intend to write a romance but an artistic pen-picture. For this purpose he made protracted historical studies and has added a bibliography in which the name of Marius André is not lacking. His point of view as a biographer is the purely subjective one: "In the case of an historical personage, particularly one of high station, there is but one way of guarding against hopeless failure, namely *to recreate him anew through visualization.*"

But how can such visualization succeed when practiced by a modern infidel on the deeply religious Columbus, with his heroic confidence in God? Is it possible for an infidel whose principles on the question of God are negative, nay antagonistic, to form a true "vision" of a Christian character?

Wassermann describes his hero as "a fantastic fanatic," who is actuated by a "predestination" and "divine legate" mania. "To him, as a believing Catholic, all intellectual and volitional liberty was foreign." "Cowardly and heartlessly he coöperated in the extermination of a noble race and thus made Christianity a byword and religion a lie." "Spanish darkness" rules him. "In the last analysis there is nothing expressible or rational which spurred this impulsive individual from one enterprise to the next. This is his misfortune and his law. (This too might argue for his Jewish descent.)"

And this cowardly, heartless individual, he would have us believe, was the inspiration for Cervantes' Don Quixote: "I can not rid myself of the impression that Cervantes must have been influenced in the conception of his immortal character by this historical person." Perhaps a dozen times does Wassermann refer to this character of fiction, even though the points of comparison are ever so vague and grotesque. The tragically grotesque scene where the clever Don, his blood afire with lust for combat, rides into a herd of sheep and slaughters madly is also an important symbol for the Don Quixote of the ocean.

He did not know whither he was going, against whom he was to struggle. He did not see nor did he understand.

Also Rosinante and Sancho Panza are not wanting. Speaking of the four tiny ships, the portraitist says: "Wonderful: the ships time and again play the role of the nag Rosinante." The noble and self-sacrificing Diego Mandez "reminds him in many points of Sancho Panza." At the end Wassermann emphasizes his contention "that there is no question here (in the characterization of Columbus as Don Quixote) of a forced simile, but that this peculiar temperamental similarity must occur unsought to everyone who studies Columbus a little more deeply."

The portrait which Wassermann sketches is a subjective, ugly caricature.[24] Reality presents another picture.

Of course, Columbus was no saint. The presumption that he was concerned in the first place with the spread of the Gospel is unfounded. Had this been his purpose, he could not, for example have held so tenaciously to his exorbitantly high demands for himself and his family, demands which seriously threatened to wreck his undertaking. Moreover, we find no priest among his companions on his first expedition.

In our own day men have gone so far as to advocate seriously the canonization of Columbus. The first attempt was made during the years 1856-1892. The chief agitator was Count Roselly (de Loriques) especially after the appearance of his two-volume work, *Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1852). This book ran through seven editions and was translated into most of the European languages.[25] Cardinal Donnet, Archbishop of Bordeaux, asked Pius IX in a letter dated August 25, 1866, for the introduction of the process. A postulate to this effect was also presented to the Vatican council in 1870. Roselly gives further

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[24] The refutation of individual points may be found in the introduction and notes of Caddeo's edition of *Historie per Fernando Colombo.* Similar distortions as those of Wassermann are found in a book by Blasco Ibanez, *En busca de Gran Kan* (1929). They are refuted in an article, *Contro i denigratori di Cr. Colombo,* which appeared in the magazine *Colombo* (Rome, Sept., 1929, p. 407 sqq.). There we read of the book by Charcot, *Chr. Colomb vu par un marin* (Paris, 1928): "The whole book by Charcot is a rapid and merciless refutation of all accusations which abound in the imaginative prose of the novelist (Ibáñez) of Valencia." The derision aimed at the nautical knowledge of the discoverer is refuted by the historian of the French navy, Charles de la Roncière in his *La Carte de Chr. Colomb,* Paris, 1924. Further corrections may be found in *Chr. Colomb ou l'heureux Genois* (9th edition, Paris, 1927), by André Hevesy. This is one of the best biographies of the admiral and is based on a thorough study of the sources.

[25] The German translation is by Laicus, Einsiedeln, 1889.

details in his book, *Ambassadeur de Dieu et le Pape Pie IX* (Paris, 1871). As a result of the writing of this book Roselly was named postulator of the cause. He succeeded in organizing a movement in favor of the canonization in which practically the whole French episcopate shared. He answered his opponents who warned him, more especially the Italian professor Sanguinetti[26] in his book, *Satan contre Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1876). Several writings appeared both for and against this *Satan* but Roselly remained unshaken. In 1885 he published his *Histoire posthume de Christophe Colomb* and in the year of his death (1898) he wrote a book which was intended to reduce his opponents to silence, *Les calomniateurs modernes du serviteur de Dieu Chr. Colomb,* which was published in Paris immediately after his death.

Roselly died at the age of 92. A friend described him as an amiable gentleman in the parlor, but a ruthless barbarian when he put pen to paper. When writing he lost all moderation and all sense of value, as, for instance, when he attempted to whitewash his saint and denied that he had had an illegitimate son.

Nevertheless, it is an established fact based on both negative and positive evidence that his son Ferdinando, born to him on August 15, 1488, at Cordova of Beatrice Enriquez de Arana was the offspring of a passionate but passing union which was never legitimized. Columbus acknowledged this by word and deed and never dispensed himself from the duty of supporting this son and his mother. He is mindful of this duty also in his last will and testament (Codicil of August 25, 1505).[27]

Despite this and other great obstacles renewed attempts were made in the beginning of the twentieth century especially in America to set on foot another movement to procure the honors of the altar for Columbus. Although Rome has repeatedly recognized the merits of the discoverer of the New World, it nevertheless maintained a negative attitude toward all such petitions and, as far as is known, even up to recent times the promoters of his cause have not succeeded in obtain-

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[26] Sanguinetti, *La canonizzazione de Cr. Colombo* (1875).

[27] For details cf. Rinaldo Caddeo's *Le Historie dela vita di Crist. Colombo per D. Ferdinando Colombo suo figlio,* 1, iv sqq. Even earlier the Rev. Riccardo Cappa, S. J., in his *Colón y los Españoles* (Madrid, 1889), pp. 317 sqq., devoted a special chapter to this subject and refuted all the arguments advanced to prove the legitimacy of the union. Hoebler, who accuses the promoters of the canonization of Columbus of scientific trickery, writes: "With singular unanimity all serious students declare Ferdinand Columbus illegitimate" (*Histor. Zeitschrift* 57 (1887), 230).

ing even the *introductio causae*. At all events this whole agitation may serve as a salutary warning for all, showing as it does how unwise it is to seek for ecclesiastical approbation and glorification of an individual before all the facts in the case have been critically examined and proved.[28]

As those who would canonize Columbus have distorted his portrait so also have his calumniators. Aside from their superlative hypercriticism and their, for the most part, highly uncritical evaluation of the material at hand, they have judged the faults of Columbus by present-day standards and not taken them in their historical setting. This historical setting demands, for instance, a consideration of the prevalent craze for gold (because of the growing commerce of the times the reserve of gold had become much too small), of the red-hot passion for discovery, a direct result of the Portuguese territorial acquisitions, of the state of the slave question, since thousands upon thousands of slaves were sold and retained in the Mediterranean ports. Here also belongs the contemporary attitude toward illegitimate offspring. Spanish noblemen openly paraded their illegitimate children and procured high honors for them, so that these bastard children became the ancestors of powerful lines of nobility. Even King Ferdinand, the Catholic, was seen in public with Don Alonso de Aragon, his illegitimate son, conceived in adultery. Don Alonso, when only six years old, was nominated Archbishop of Saragossa, and Isabella, the Catholic, retained him in her retinue. All these circumstances do not, of course, justify Columbus, yet they must keep the historian from painting him in colors of too dark a hue.

It is certainly not an easy thing to do full justice to Columbus in every regard. Columbus was a true Italian and possessed all the admirable and less admirable qualities of the Italian character. We find in him, in the first place, a great, childlike piety, which never deserted him in joy or sorrow. Many are the indications of this piety: his reception of the sacraments before he started out on his expedition, the cross as an emblem in his flag, the daily singing in common of the Salve Regina, the vows made in times of danger, of fasts and pilgrimages with

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[28] Vignaud calls the movement for the canonization of Columbus "an unwise demonstration" and "a singular aberration." Cf. his article, *L'ancienne et la nouvelle campagne pour la canonisation de Christophe Colomb*, which appeared in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, 6 (1909), p. 44.

bare feet to shrines of the Madonna, the patroness and refuge of all sailors. This piety often exceeds just limits, later becomes fanaticism, and tempts to a false mysticism.

Columbus was a son of Genoa, the city of world commerce. The Genoese merchants were the "Jews" of their day. The very air of the city, which had but recently introduced a gold standard, was on fire with thirst for gold and adventure, and full of dreams of new worlds with mountains of gold, silver, and precious stones. Ambitious plans fired the mind of the young Genoese.

In the prosecution of these plans the most prominent trait of his character revealed itself: an incredible energy and tireless patience in the preparation and carrying through of the project, for which he believed himself destined by God, namely the discovery of a new world, rich in gold, which would provide the means necessary for the extension of the Kingdom of God. No sailor is too insignificant, no book and no scientist too learned, no Jew too rich, no throne too exalted; always and everywhere he sought to deepen and ertend his nautical and cosmographical knowledge, to perfect his plans and carry them into execution. Decades of study, of privations, of disappointments can not exhaust his courage or weaken his confidence in God.

When all seems to have been attained, the character of this Genoese merchant threatened to ruin all: he possessed, according to his estimation, a very valuable commodity and for it, according to strict justice, he must demand a very high price. Eventually his perseverance is rewarded: the Spanish crown grants him all he demands.

And then there is his childlike joy at the successful venture, a joy which can not sufficiently express itself in high-sounding words, that are so little understood by unemotional northerners and, therefore, condemned as pride and megalomania.

The true character of a man is most clearly revealed in moments of suffering, humiliation, and peril. These tests Columbus passed with shield untarnished. From the proud heights of universal admiration, he descended to the dungeon, to chains, to contempt and insults of all kinds, to extreme solitude. If he proved himself great in the hours when raging storms threatened every moment to bring him to a watery grave and to destroy the plans of a lifetime, he proved himself greater in the

hour of his deepest humiliation by his quiet determination and unwavering confidence in God's providence with regard to the attainment of his life's ambition.

Truly great this ambition was: "Among all geographical discoveries there is none of such tremendous cultural consequence as the discovery of the Genoese Columbus" (Ruge). Not the least among the factors which led him to the realization of his ambition was his unshakable confidence in God.

Alexander von Humboldt has devoted extensive study to the Columbus question in his *Examen Critique* based on printed and unprinted sources. His judgment is eminently superior to that of many smaller minds. He writes: "We shall by no means examine what it is that is most admirable in Columbus, whether it is the almost instinctive clarity of his vision, or the nobility and strength of his character . . . Surely the intellectual abilities of Columbus are not less worthy of admiration than the energy of his will." "Among the virtues of the character of Columbus we must preferably single out the sharpness and sagacity with which he evaluated the phenomenon of the visible world. He is equally admirable as a close observer of nature and as a fearless seaman." Humboldt then proves these points in detail "as a physicist and geologist": "Columbus did not limit himself to the collection of isolated facts; he attempted to unite them, to determine their relation one to another; he rises at times audaciously to the discovery of universal laws which govern all nature. Before the days of Father Acosta no similar attempt was ever made."[29]

Humboldt also judges the "covetousness" of Columbus more leniently than most others. He writes: "Those among the Spanish historians, whom a false nationalism has made enemies of Columbus and who insidiously and subtly attack him, gladly speak of his business instinct as proof of his Italian covetousness. The admiral undoubtedly displays an activity and an almost painfully minute care to keep intact his possessions, as his letters to his son Diego evince . . . Born in the heart of a republic, where it was not uncommon to see men amass in a short time immense wealth by daring coups . . . Columbus was

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[29] The German translation from which the author quotes is by Ideler and is entitled, *Kritische Untersuchung über die historische Entwicklung der geographischen Kenntnisse von der neuen Welt*," 2 (1852), 9, 14, 17. Cf. 156 sq. and 241 sqq. where we find such terms as "strength of character, goodness, lofty nobility of soul." Cf. also *Kosmos*, 2 (1847), 302 sq.

naturally inclined to consider and to love wealth as a means to attain to political power . . . When he established the family succession to his property on February 22, 1498, three months before the beginning of his third expedition, he returns to his favorite project, namely the reconquest of the holy sepulcher, which was to be the proximate effect of the conquest of the Antilles. He commands his son Diego to use his wealth to establish and maintain four qualified professors of theology at Haiti, whose number might later be increased; to build a hospital and church there; finally to deposit securities in the bank of St. George whose purpose was to be to finance a crusade to the Holy Land, should the Spanish crown fail to do so, or to come to the assistance of the pope, should a schism threaten him with the loss of his temporal possessions."[30] In a note Humboldt adds: "Columbus had a crusade to the Holy Land so much at heart, 'to which their majesties must apply all the revenues from New India,' that he commanded his son Diego or his heirs, to proceed with the crusade even though the securities in the bank were not yet so very great" (p. 231).

Humboldt came to this conclusion because he always bore in mind the time when and the place where Columbus lived and the then prevalent ideas: "I have found great pleasure in presenting this great historical character in his true colors, as a man of the fifteenth century, one who makes the old customs of Liguria and Spain live again, and not according to the preconceptions which the civilization of modern times has brought into being."[31]

The judgment of the famous Dominican Bishop, Las Casas, like that of Humboldt, deserves very special consideration. Since the time when his *Historia de las Indias* was first printed in full in 1875, his reputation has steadily grown. Büdinger in

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[30] *Kritische Untersuchung*, 2, 278 sqq.

[31] *Kritische Untersuchung*, 2, 290. Humboldt does not hide the dark side of the picture. Thus, for instance, his treatment of the Indians as slaves; the cruel order (April 9, 1494) to cut off the nose and ears of those Indians who attempted to conceal gold, because the loss of these members could only be disguised with the greatest difficulty. (This punishment, however, was at that time customary in Portugal and Spain even for far lesser offences.) "Unfortunately it is all too certain that Columbus introduced the contemptible practise of using dogs to fight against the Indians."

his *Akten zur Kolumbusgeschichte* praises Las Casas as "both a patriot and a lover of truth."[32]

The object of Las Casas was to give testimony only to the truth; in so doing he proves himself an incorruptible advocate of human rights, even of the humblest Indian. He shows his incorruptibility very specially with regard to Colón when he speaks of his unjust and violent enslaving of the Indians.[33]

Las Casas was personally acquainted with Columbus and was on intimate terms with his family. He was also in a position to use the documents left by the discoverer. He severely criticizes his faults. Hence we can trust him so much the more when he praises the energy, wisdom, and unbounded confidence in God of the discoverer, or when he paints for us the pen-picture: "He was really dignified, courteous with strangers, meek and obliging with his relations, moderately serious, and a good conversationalist. Thus he could easily win the love of those with whom he came into contact, although even his venerable personal appearance indicated a man worthy of all honor. He was moderate and modest with regard to food and drink as well as with regard to dress." And in the passage where he blames him most, he adds by way of excuse: "If he had forseen the consequences, he would have acted differently;

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[32] *Sitzungsbericht der k. Adademie der Wissenschaften* (Viena) 112, p. 662. [However, recent scholarly research calls Las Casas to task for his reckless denunciations of Spanish treatment of the Indians. See *ante*, p. 3 *et seq.* for Dr. Steck's strictures in Las Casas and especially Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain: Forced labor in the Spanish colonies, 1492-1550*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1929, Chap. I. Simpson shows how the "black legend" of supposed Spanish uniform inhuman treatment of the Indians can be traced back to Las Casas's *Brief Relation* as its principal source. "The violent partisanship of Las Casas's tract has had a vicious effect upon the historians of the Spanish conquest." See also the judgment of Edward Gaylord Bourne, who turned the tide in favor of a more just appreciation of Spanish achievement in the New World: "Las Casas was the Lloyd Garrison of Indian rights; but it is as one-sided to depict the Spanish Indian policy primarily from his pages as it would be to write a history of the American Negro question exclusively from the files of the *Liberator*" (Spain in *America*, p. 257). Ed.]

[33] *Historia de las Indias* (Madrid, 1875), pp. 334 sqq. After Humboldt has quoted the words of Peter Martyr, of the year 1525 on the necessity of slavery, he continues: "These memorable words justify Las Casas when, after having taken Columbus to task very seriously for his treatment of the Indians, he exclaims: 'What else could we expect from an old sailor, from a warrior, living at a time when the wisest clerics and those most worthy of respect, were either undecided in their attitude toward slavery or favored it' " (*Kritische Untersuchung*, 2, 219). Humboldt also points to the fact that even before the days of Las Casas, who himself advocated the substitution of Negro slaves for the weaker Indians, there were Negro slaves on the Spanish markets. Thus in Seville in 1406 (p. 216 sq.).

for no one will deny that he was a good man and a good Christian" *(hombre bueno y cristiano)*.[34]

In view of the varying judgments which reverence and envy, hate and love have passed on Columbus, the Spanish Academician, Marques de Hoyos, remarks in an address delivered in the Ateneo in Madrid on March 24, 1891: "I am inclined to accept the view of the Bishop of Chiapas (Las Casas) not only because he was a friend and companion of Colón, but because he judged him and his works with an impartiality which often borders on cruelty and injustice . . . His faults, which were greatly exaggerated by his rivals and opponents, were after all only those of his day and nation, while some of them were the outcome of his exceptional gifts."[35]

BERNARD DUHR

[33] Fastenrath, *Christoph Kolumbus*, p. 338.
[34] *Historia de las Indias*, 1, p. 301.

VARIA

THE FOUNDING OF STE. GENEVIEVE, MISSOURI

Historians concede that Ste. Genevieve was the first permanent settlement west of the Mississippi. It has been generally accepted that this first settlement was on the bank of the Mississippi about four miles south of the present town, opposite the city of Kaskaskia, and, that because of the great flood of 1784, when the entire locality was inundated, the town was moved to the present site. Because of the vagueness of its early history and lack of documentary evidence, the time of the settlement is unknown but conceded to have been earlier than 1759. The writer's intention is to give her reasons for believing that the original settlement was not where it is now supposed to have been but on the present site of Ste. Genevieve, that the date was at least as early as 1720, and that the name was St. Joachim.

It is an historical fact that in 1723 Philip François Renault was granted the right to mine in what is now the state of Missouri, at the place which, even then, was known as the mines of La Motte. Renault brought from France men and machinery and stopped at San Domingo to purchase slaves to work the mines. It is also an historical fact that Renault worked these mines, the lead being molded in the form of collars and carried to the river on pack horses. The road he traveled is definitely known and still exists in many places. It has been generally accepted, as stated in Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 284, that this lead was taken to Fort Chartres for shipment. The absurdity of this statement seems to have never occurred to us. The road over which the lead was brought came to the river in the near vicinity of the present site of Ste. Genevieve. Because of the impregnable cliffs it was impossible for a landing place to have been above Ste. Genevieve. About a mile above the town was, until a few years ago, an enormous bluff, some 150 feet above the waters of the river, extending out into the water sharply. This spot was known as Rock Point and is shown on the map made by Ross who was sent by the English in 1765 to survey the territory east of the Mississippi which they (the English) had taken from the French. He published his map in London in 1770. From this Rock Point high bluffs extended north, along the river's bank, many miles. (This point and much of the bluffs have been blasted away by the Government for ballast used in river work.) To reach Fort Chartres from

the river landing on the west side, it was necessary to carry the lead, in canoes, up the river, against the strong current, some seven miles. The absurdity of this is apparent when we consider that the river ran before the doors of the place to which the lead was brought from the mines. The above contention (that there was a settlement on the site of the present Ste. Genevieve in Renault's time) is only a logical conclusion, but, to substantiate this conclusion, the following facts are cited from Houck's *History of Missouri,* Vol. I, p. 338:

> "In 1881 an old stone well, standing like a chimney or a tower . . . was discovered accidently. . . . On one of the stones at the top of this well were found, distinctly cut, the figures 1732." . . . "Trudeau, however, says in his report of 1798 that the old village was settled 'for more than sixty years' thus confirming evidence that the village was settled at least as early as 1732 [1738]. Pittman, who wrote in 1767, says the 'first settlers of this village removed about 28 years ago from Cascasquiaa.'" . . . "A distinct reference to a French settlement on the west side of the Mississippi, in 1742, is made in a report to the Government of Virginia, cited in a note of a translation of DuPratz."

Again, Father Watrin, writing in 1764, says: "fifteen years ago, at a league from the old village on the other bank of the Mississippi, there was established a new village under the name of Ste. Genevieve" (*Jesuit Relations,* 70:235, cited in Houck, II, 292). That date would have been *1749,* which is the definite year of the establishment of the town of Ste. Genevieve on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite the town of Kaskaskia from which the inhabitants moved after the great flood of 1784. It has been accepted that "the old village" referred to by Father Watrin was Kaskaskia, but the writer believes it was not Kaskaskia but the settlement made by the miners on the present site of Ste. Genevieve, which is about the distance of a league north of the "new Village" of Ste. Genevieve spoken of by Father Watrin.

Renault mined until 1742. His was only surface mining and the lead lay near the surface in pockets. Many of the holes made by the early miners still exist near Mine La Motte and are known as "The Diggins." The real lead was in veins deep in the ground, but with this we are not concerned at this time. The only reason for mentioning it is that Renault, believing he had exhausted the mines, took his men and machinery and returned to France, which, it may be assumed, depleted the number of the inhabitants to such an extent that the Jesuit missionaries at

Kaskaskia, who had to cross the river to visit their charges at this settlement, deemed it wise to advise that the village be moved nearer to them. To quote again from Father Watrin, writing of this new village: "when the new inhabitants saw their houses multiply, they asked to have a church built; this being granted them, the journeys of the missionary became still more frequent." This church was called St. Joachim while the village was Ste. Genevieve. The settlement, the site of which had been abandoned in 1749, was known as St. Joachim and a military fort was located there. André de Guirre La Rose was Captain of Militia and his marriage record, written by Father Watrin, is as follows:

"Registre des marriages que J'ai celebres dans l'eglise de St. Joachim au Illinois de l'an 1759

Le 26 Fevrier apres avoir publié deux bans de marriages avec dispense du troisieme entre le Sieur André de Guirre dit La Rose, Capitaine de Milice a St. Joachim, et de Marie La Boissiere, veuve de Joseph Baron de la paroisse de Ste. Anne a la Nouvelle Chartres. Sans quil se soit formé d'opposition ni decouvert d'empechement Je soussigné Miss. de le Compagnie de Jesus deservant la dite eglise de St. Joachim, ai reçu leur mutual consentement en presence des temoins soussignes fait au dit lieu de St. Joachim les jour et an ci dessus

P. F. Watrin, Miss. C. de Jesus."

Translated this record reads: "On the 26th of February, after having twice published the bands of marriage, dispensing with the third, between Mr. André de Guirre, called La Rose, Captain of Militia *of St. Joachim*, and Marie La Boissiere, widow of Joseph Baron, of the Parish of Ste. Anne of Nouvelle Chartres; having found no objection nor discovered any impediment, I, the undersigned Missionary of the Company of Jesus, have, in the said church of St. Joachim, received their mutual consent, in the presence of the undersigned witnesses being of the said place of St. Joachim, the day and year aforesaid."

Father Watrin says that André de Guirre La Rose was of St. Joachim; also he says the witnesses were "au dit lieu de St. Joachim," that is, *of that same place, St. Joachim.*

A year later Father Watrin performed the marriage of Jean Baptiste de Guirre and Cecile Baron, son and daughter, respectively, of the above. In this record he writes: "Jean Baptiste de Guirre, fils de Sieur André de Guirre Ancien Capitaine de Milice *a St. Joachim* et de feu Elizabeth Brunet, et Cecile Baron, fille de feu Joseph Baron, *aussi Capitaine de Milice a St. Joachim et de Marie La Boissiere.*"

This marriage was February 5, 1760. There was a fort at

this upper settlement, St. Joachim, and André de Guirre La Rose, as well as Joseph Baron, was Captain there, de Guirre succeeding Baron at the latter's death.

The writer, who is familiar with every inch of the surrounding country, has searched in vain for any evidence of what might have been a fort near the site of the town opposite Kaskaskia. However, in the heart of the present town is a building which, without doubt, was the block house of a fort. This house is now owned by Mr. J. Vion Papin of St. Louis. It has been believed it was built by Jean Baptiste Vallé just after the great flood, i. e., about 1785 or 1786. The writer believes it was not built by Mr. Vallé, but only remodeled, though to no great extent, for the present contour of the house is exactly that of a block house. The foundation of this house is exactly of the shape, form and construction of old French forts, Fort Chartres for instance, though much less in extent. The foundations run out beyond the house under the porches, which proves the size of the block house was greater than that of the present house.

The house that is conceded to have been the very first built on the present site of Ste. Genevieve stands a block south of Mr. Papin's house and faces the Gabourri creek and was built by Francois Vallé, son of Francois Vallé, the first Commandant under Spanish rule, and Commandant after Henri Peyroux. About half a block south of Mr. Papin's house stands one known as the Bolduc house. The Bolduc family claim this was built in 1735 and moved from the lower town after the flood. That it was built in 1735 is possible, but that it was moved is not probable. It is not built like Mr. Papin's house but is constructed of logs placed upright; the spaces between the logs is filled with rocks and mortar, the cross sections are fastened together with wooden pins and the roof is distinctively of the earliest type of French building. This house is known to have been the Government house.

Another house a block north of Mr. Papin's was built shortly after the flood by Vital St. Gemme, very likely in 1786 or 1787.

The writer's supposition is that the space extending from the Gabourri creek on the south about two blocks north, from the river on the east about two blocks west, was the enclosure of the fort where André de Guirre La Rose was Captain; that, after the old village had been abandoned, Vital St. Gemme de Beauvais acquired the land lying along the river front; Jean

Baptiste Vallé acquired the upper half and Francois Vallé acquired the lower half. After the flood, these, the most important men of the town, built homes on the new site. Francois Vallé built facing the Gabourri; Jean Baptiste Vallé remodeled the old block house; Vital St. Gemme built on his land. The thought arises, why did not Francois Vallé use for a home the large house which stood on his land? The answer is that it was used as the Governmnent house and Don Silvio de la Cartabona de Oro was Commandant and, consequently to him as the most important person was tendered the best house. After Henri Peyroux, Francois Vallé was made Commandant and he then occupied the large house.

These thoughts and arguments are respectfully offered for the consideration of historians with the hope that the facts will be searched out and proven.

IDA M. SCHAAF

St. Mary's, Missouri

NEWS AND COMMENTS

With the present issue MID-AMERICA appears in notably diminished form, having to husband carefully its declining financial resources. The prevailing economic collapse appears to be adequate explanation these days for every sort of untoward happening; certainly it alone must bear the guilt of MID-AMERICA'S step-down to less imposing proportions of bulk and content. Advertising has fallen off in considerable volume and subscription dues have ceased to aggregate their former total. Meanwhile, however, MID-AMERICA will carry on in the hope that its friends will lend it what aid they can to lighten its financial burdens, which are pressing enough. Ever since its first appearance in 1918 the magazine has upheld, not without a measure of substantial success, it may be said, the cause of Catholic history in the Middle United States. It would be a thousand pities were it now constrained under the stress of continued deficits to withdraw definitely from the field.

Chicago's International Exposition, "A Century of Progress," the city's amazing counterstroke to the economic depression that grips the world, is scheduled to open June 1, 1933. June 1 of the current year saw the dedication of the Exposition's Hall of Science with Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, Chicago's Catholic Auxiliary, pronouncing invocation and benediction. The courage of the metropolis in going ahead with this great enterprise in the face of existing conditions is refreshing. What the country needs today is self-confidence in its recuperative powers, faith in its ability to emerge from the crisis a wiser and a happier land. Pessimism gets one nowhere. The country's plight has been diagnosed in various quarters as a case largely of lost nerve. Where nerve is lost the first step in the process of recovering it is the patient's auto-suggestion or self-conviction that he can and will recover. The example of Chicago is therefore a heartening one to the rest of the country.

Simultaneously with the hundredth anniversary of Chicago's incorporation as a town the Catholic Church will round out its first hundred years of organized life in the metropolis. In April, 1833, Father St. Cyr in response to an appeal made to the Bishop of St. Louis by the handful of Catholics resident in

Chicago arrived there to organize the first Catholic parish and erect the first Catholic Church on the site of the future metropolis since the Jesuit Miami-Indian chapel of the sixteen-nineties. At the head of the list of Chicagoans petitioning for a Catholic priest was the name of Colonel Thomas Jefferson Vincent Owen who called the meeting of citizens that petitioned for the town's incorporation and who was elected chairman of the first board of town-trustees. Under the caption, "The Father of Chicago," Owen's historic contribution to the making of the great municipality of the United States is told interestingly by James Ryan Haydon in the June, 1932, issue of *Thought*.

Two Marquette admirers, both of them non-Catholics, recently passed away, Mr. Robert Somerville in February and Dr. Lucius H. Zeuch in May of the current year, 1932. Mr. Somerville interested himself in having a tablet erected on the site of Marquette's camp of April 1, 1675, near the Chicago Portage; later, when president of the Riverside, Illinois, Library Board, he secured the services of a talented artist to portray in colors the arrival of Jolliet and Marquette at the Chicago Portage in September, 1673. The painting, finely conceived and executed, together with an accompanying decorative map was presented by him to the library. Dr. Zeuch working in collaboration with Mr. Robert Knight, a civil engineer, embodied the results of long years of topographical and historical study of the Chicago Portage in a volume published by the Chicago Historical Society in 1928 *(The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century)*. Painstaking, accurate, and in the best sense of the term scholarly research distinguishes this notable contribution to the history of a most important factor in the story of pioneer Chicago—the old portage route traversed by Jolliet and Marquette and after them by others travelers of the early West down to nineteenth-century days. In 1930 Messrs. Zeuch and Knight, in the course of an auto trip through France, undertook a pilgrimage to Marquette's home town of Laon, an account of which appears over their signatures in the January, 1932, issue of MID-AMERICA. Dr. Zeuch was also the author of a history of medicine in Illinois, a work brought out under the auspices of the Illinois Medical Society. He was a gentleman

of the highest ideals in his chosen avocation of historical research and his premature passing is a distinct loss to the intellectual life of the metropolis with which his life-work was chiefly identified.

The current year, 1932, marks the centenary of the death of the Rt. Rev. Edward Fenwick, first bishop of Cincinnati (1821-1832). His life has been written by a fellow-Dominican, Victor F. O'Daniel, O. P. *(Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O. P., Founder of the Dominicans in the United States, etc.,* 1920), a notable volume that will long remain a contribution of value to the Catholic history of the West. Bishop Fenwick's career was distinguished by a more than ordinary measure of episcopal virtues—zeal for souls, self-sacrificing labor and holy enterprise in organizing his diocese on every side. He provided it with a seminary, a college, and a diocesan paper, *The Cincinnati Telegraph,* earliest of Catholic journals west of the Alleghanies. His ministry was not confined to the whites; he was interested actively in the Indians of his diocese and made visitations to their villages as far north as Green Bay, Wisconsin. In fine, he wrote shortly before he died that the Indians even more so than the whites would be the objects of his zealous care. All in all, he remains a most inspiring figure in the pioneer Catholic history of Ohio, where he began his ministry as early as 1809. Memorials to his name have been raised, notable among them being the Fenwick Institute of Cincinnati and the Fenwick High School conducted by the Dominican Fathers in Oak Park, Illinois.

A statement recently made to the effect that Chicago was at one time in Bishop Fenwick's jurisdiction raises an interesting question. The original territory of the diocese of Cincinnati, as defined at the time of its erection in 1821, included Ohio and Michigan Territory, the latter embracing what is now Wisconsin. Illinois and Indiana remained attached to Bardstown, nor is it recorded by O'Daniel that Bishop Fenwick ever visited Chicago or that Bishop Flaget of Bardstown ever delegated jurisdiction to the Bishop of Cincinnati over Illinois or any part of it.

Books of that curiously infelicitous literary type known as the "new biography" continue to inflict themselves on a patient and long-suffering public. Now and then a really worth while "life" raises its head above the dreary waste. Of such is a recently issued volume on a one-time booklover and antiquarian of St. Louis (*William Clark Breckenridge: Historical Research Writer and Bibliographer of Missouriana: His Life, Lineage and Writings,* by James Malcolm Breckenridge, St. Louis, 1932). Breckenridge was an instance of that often very useful but not always easily understood class of persons who heap up a vast amount of knowledge by long years of study and research but shrink from putting it in printed form. Lord Acton, rated at his death the most learned man in Europe, published almost nothing. His erudition, profound and varied so as to reach to almost every corner of the historical field, became a legend; but it perished with him. The disproportion between what he knew and the infinitesimal part of it which he put on record for the benefit of posterity served as a text to his successor in the Regius professorship of history at Cambridge, who exhorted his students almost vehemently to fix the results of their researches, however humble, on the written or printed page. Surely everyone, he commented, "owes his stone to the cairn." Mandell Creighton, the Protestant Bishop of London who wrote the lives of the Renaissance popes, says somewhere that one of the things which moved him to authorship was the sight of a reader who frequented the Bodleian for years taking endless notes but never writing a line for publication. Perhaps the most familiar American instance of the idiosyncrasy in question is that of Lyman Copeland Draper of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. He amassed, especially through personal interviews with participants in pioneer Western history, a vast fund of first-hand invaluable information; but he never could be induced to write a book. His excuse was that a book, on account of fresh data constantly coming to light, is no sooner published than it is out of date. He would not himself put pen to paper until all the sources of information, actual and potential, on his subject had been literally exhausted. However, Draper's activities were by no means misdirected or misspent. The data which he gathered up on frontier history were carefully consigned by him to well-kept note-books, on which students and writers have freely drawn to their utmost profit. The truth is that the historian's task is integrated of two processes, research and composition,

and one may serve the cause of scholarship admirably even though one fail to combine the two. The criticism directed against the career of scholars of the Acton sort is that such persons apparently carry all their learning around with them in their heads leaving none of it behind in notes or records or rough material that will be of aid to their successors.

And so William Clark Breckenridge with his carefully compiled bibliographies has left all students of Western and especially Missouri history in his lasting debt. "If such men as Breckenridge," said Alexander N. DeMenil, his bosom friend, "do not write histories, they collect and preserve the data from which future historians write histories." For the rest, Mr. Breckenridge was a Christian gentleman of engaging personal qualities and distinct integrity of life. His home in St. Louis in which he had accumulated an immense collection of Missouriana, was partly wrecked in the great St. Louis tornado of September 29, 1927, and many of his valuable books and pamphlets were thereby destroyed. He never really recovered from the experiences of that tragic day, dying in St. Louis on December 23 of the same year. He was survived by a brother, James, who became his biographer and the editor of his few scattered writings, and by a daughter, Mrs. Arthur Wilson Lambert, Jr., who was educated at the Sacred Heart Academy, St. Charles, Missouri, graduating thence in 1914 with high honors.

The low ethical standards of the current neo-paganism find their way into otherwise respectable books of history. Allan Nevins in his *Frémont, the West's Greatest Adventurer* (New York, 1930, I, p. 31 *et seq.*) tells how the Pathfinder's father took to wife a Mrs. Pryor during the life-time of her husband, with whom, owing to a ridiculous disparity of ages, she had been living unhappily. "Such an elopement," comments Nevins, "natural and even just though it seems to our modern point of view" etc. (I, 6). Nevins further states that the future explorer born of this union was "in a narrowly legal view of illegitimate birth." Loose concepts regarding the permanence of the marriage bond are of course met with on all sides in these unhallowed days; but they come to one as a distinct shock

in a work as scholarly and objective as is Professor Nevins's.

In the matter of Frémont's paternity an interesting problem is raised by this new biography. Nevins states that the father of the explorer was Charles Frémon or Frémont, a French *emigré* who settled in Virginia in the early nineteenth century. But according to Pierre-Georges Roy, the eminent custodian of the Provincial Archives at Quebec, the explorer had for his father Louis-René Frémont, born at Quebec in 1768 and an emigrant about 1805 or 1806 to the United States where he married the daughter of Colonel Thomas Whiting (Antoine Roy, *L'Oeuvre Historique de Pierre-Georges Roy,* Paris, 1928, p. 38). Which of the two accounts is correct?

Treaties and other International Acts of the United States of America. Edited by Hunter Miller. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1931. Vol. I (Short print): Plan of the Edition, Lists and Tables; Vol. II: Documents 1-40, 1776-1818. (Department of State.)

A comprehensive and definitive edition of the texts of all treaties and other international acts of the United States of America is in course of publication by the Department of State at Washington. The first volume is issued in a preliminary and incomplete form at present; the final edition of the volume is to be issued after all the succeeding documentary volumes to which it refers have been published. The scope of this work, which is destined to be an authentic and complete collection of primary diplomatic texts in its field, is set forth in the "plan of the edition": Acts not of an international character are not included; treaties or acts to be included are those that have gone into effect at some time or other, whether now in force or not; the period to be covered begins with February 6, 1778, when a treaty of "amity and commerce" was concluded with France.

Indian treaties are not included because not strictly the instruments of relations between the United States and another independent nation. Some interesting facts concerning these instruments are brought together by the Editor: "Agreements in one form or another between the Indian tribes and the Colonial communities or their governments go back to a quite early period of the history of North America; there were many of them made throughout the eighteenth century; various agreements between the United States and the Indian nations were entered into during the period of the Continental Congress; the earliest of these, as to the ratification of which by the Congress there is some doubt, was that with the Delaware nation of September 17, 1778 . . . and the first treaties ever submitted to the Senate of the United States were those Indian treaties which accompanied the message of President Washington of May 25, 1789." Prior to March 3, 1871, more than four hundred treaties with the Indians had been made; on that date it was provided that "hereafter no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recog-

nized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with which the United States may contract by treaty." No exchange of ratifications was made; the full and final assent of the Indian nation was given upon the signature of the treaty, and in the absence of Senate amendments no subsequent ratification by that body was necessary.

"Some Indian treaties were of great political importance during the early decades of the Republic and even later," the editor continues. "The Indian policy of the Government was one of the major problems of the administration of President Washington. The desire of incoming settlers and others for lands, the movement of pioneers westward, the necessary adjustments of limits with the Indian populations of the country and the frequently resulting conflicts, gave to the treaties between the Government and the Indians political as well as social and economic consequences."

The preliminary volume first contains, besides the "plan of the edition," to which reference has already been made, occupying thirty-eight pages, a bibliography of United States treaty collections, chronological lists of the documents to be included in the work, and rosters of the presidents, vice-presidents, and secretaries of state of the Government from the beginning of the nation to the present time. The texts contained in the documentary volume are given both in the original language of the treaty and in an English translation of a foreign language. The treaties concluded with the Barbary States, written in Arabic or in Turkish, are reproduced from the originals, and an English translation, specially prepared by a competent Orientalist, Dr. Kramers of Leiden, accompanies them. We are told that the language in which these treaties were composed is full of barbarisms and grammatical errors. Notes, following the text of each treaty in the collection, record significant events or facts connected with the conclusion or ratification of it.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL, A. B.

Oak Park, Ill.

The Founding of Churchill: Being the Journal of Captain James Knight. By James F. Kenney. J. M. Dent and Sons, London, 1932, pp. x+213.

About half of this attractive and interesting volume consists of a survey of the early history of the Hudson Bay region; the

other half consists of the journal of James Knight, Governor-in-Chief in Hudson Bay, from July 14 to September 13, 1717. The author-editor has added an excellent bibliographical discussion of the literature dealing with the history of the region, five illustrations, and an adequate index.

The author traces the development of the western shore of Hudson Bay, paying, very properly, scarcely any attention to James Bay. The story begins with that intrepid Dane, Jens Munck, who was the real discoverer of Churchill River. In 1619 he led an expedition consisting of sixty-five Danes to the mouth of the river where they erected a good fort. During the ensuing winter sixty-two died, leaving Munck and two sailors, who returned to Denmark. Their well-built fort and some brass cannon excited the wonder of Indians and subsequent settlers. The Hudson's Bay Company made unsuccessful or short-lived attempts to found a post at Churchill in 1682, 1683, and 1689. James Knight, whose services for the Hudson's Bay Company covered most of the period from 1676 until his death about 1720, may be regarded as the founder of modern Churchill. He endured incredible hardships in his earnest and persistent efforts to extend the power and prestige of his employers. The post at Churchill was designed primarily to tap the trade of the Athapascan Indians, who lived northwest of the mouth of that river. The "home" Indians, as the Crees living along the river were called, were hostile to the Athapascans; consequently Knight spent a great deal of energy in trying to effect peace among the tribes. He slowly evolved the notion that the distant lands to the northwest were filled with gold and was thus led to embark upon his last expedition, the detailed outcome of which still remains a mystery. Chapter VI, dealing with the later history of Churchill, includes only one sentence about the nineteenth century and less than a paragraph about its history in the twentieth century, although the dedication would indicate an attempt to tie it with recent developments in that region.

Knight's journal, like all good source material, contains illuminating matter, of lowly as well as of great import. It reveals a hardworking, conscientious, and perhaps conceited old man. He does, however, awaken the reader's concern. One hopes that the nets will contain more fish on the next day; that the mosquitoes and sand flies will be less troublesome; that the "home" Indians will not make war upon the Northern Indians; that the

lost boat will be found; that the company will in the future be more considerate of those whom it sends into the wilds; and that the "blockhead" workmen will have more sense on the next occasion. The journal lends reality to the whole story and is more than worthy of the careful editing that it has received.

The book is a valuable contribution. Some readers might prefer to have either a source book or a secondary account, but granting the advisability of a combination, it must be conceded that the author-editor has performed well his double duty. The book has a beautiful format and is relatively free from minor errors. The reviewer noted only two: "1792" instead of "1692" (p. 33) and "discover" instead of "discoverer" (p. 195). The absence of a comma after "Christmas" in the phrase "After Christmas scurvey . . . " (p. 10) caused him to wonder for a moment if "Christmas scurvey" was a special type of the disease, and such phrases as "any person else" (p. 22) and "at long last" (pp. 47, 105) threw him off to musing upon the peculiarities of the English language. There would seem to be no justification for such stilted phrases as "his most sacred Majesty" (p. 15) in referring to so human a character as Charles II. The absence of a map of the Hudson Bay region puts the reader to some trouble.

EDGAR B. WESLEY, PH. D.

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Damien of Molokai, 1840-1889. By Irene Caudwell. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. xi+203. $2.00.

Joseph de Veuster, the seventh child of his sturdy Flemish parents, François and Catherine de Veuster, was born January 3, 1840, in the little village home near Tremeloo some six miles from Louvain. Tillers of the soil were François and Catherine, but in their son, Joseph, they saw evidences of an active, capable intellect and had visions of his being a captain of industry despite the early indications he gave of a call to the religious life.

Four years after joining the Picpus Fathers in Louvain where he took the name of *Damien,* Joseph de Veuster sailed to Hawaii as a missionary in place of his brother, Father Pamphile, of the same order, who was suddenly taken ill at the last moment. There he was assigned to the parish of Puna but upon his own

request was transferred to the much larger parish of Kohala containing seven scattered churches. From the rugged district which taxed even his virile strength he was transferred, again at his own request, to the living graveyard of Molokai, the rocky promontory to which the Hawaiian Government banished the lepers of the islands in 1865. There he labored for sixteen years, in a land of living death where the average span of life was but five. Father Damien died April 15, 1889.

This biography is well written in a popular style with a deft touch of local color here and there but the lack of references may prove a source of annoyance to the scholar.

EDWARD H. YOUNG, A. M.

Paola, Kans.

Our Brothers. By Brother Ernest, C. S. C. Scott, Foresman and Company, 1931.

All the religious orders in the United States that admit Brothers will be grateful to Brother Ernest, C. S. C., for writing this book. Within the small compass of one hundred and seventy-one pages he gives a short account of sixty-three Brotherhoods, briefly stating in regard to each—except in a few cases where the information could not be secured—the origin and purpose of the order, the requirements of admission for Brother candidates, their training and occupation, and frequently also the countries where the order exercises its activity. A short paragraph in the Introduction on the purpose of the religious life goes straight to the heart of the matter and is worth a whole tract on the subject.

It is but too true that vocation to the Brotherhoods is too little known. Priests often speak to boys on vocation to the priesthood, but, by a strange anomaly, seldom or never on vocation to the religious life without the priesthood. Yet the fact is that all through the centuries, beginning with the early ages of Christianity, Brothers have taken and are taking a very important part in furthering the work of the Church in every part of the world. What we need most of all at the present day is apostles for developing vocations to this most holy and useful state of life, a movement, in fact, led by the clergy and hierarchy whereby the excellence of this manner of life will be made

known and many young men of upright character and high purpose will be inspired to embrace it.

MATTHEW GERMING, S. J.

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From Dusk to Dawn, a history of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Newark, New Jersey. By the Reverend P. R. McCaffrey, O. Carm. Benziger Brothers, New York, 1932, pp. 290.

Nearly forty-four years ago this Congregation began "its life of useful endeavor for the salvation of souls, the protection of young girlhood, the curing of bodily ills, the training and mothering of orphans, and the consolation of the blind." This brief quotation serves at once to illustrate the genial style of the author and to indicate the religious and social programme of the congregation whose activities he has so graphically and so sympathetically recorded.

Though never a large congregation—its present membership being but three hundred and sixty-four—it has a substantial record of achievement in spite of difficulties that might well have daunted less courageous souls. Its twenty-five foundations are organized into three provinces: the English Province, including a convent in Glasgow and another in Rome, the Western (American) Province, and the Newark (New Jersey) Province where the Mother House is located. These houses are distributed over nine dioceses and archdioceses, as well as the Vicariate of Alaska.

Up to the present the work of the order has been that of pioneers in a wide variety of fields. Originating in struggling English Catholic missions where centuries of bigotry and intolerance had to be overcome it was extended to crowded American cities near the Atlantic seaboard, thence to the Pacific and even to the wilds of Alaska. Worthy of special mention is its work of providing homes for working girls and caring for orphans. It has likewise kept in the vanguard of scientific progress in educating the blind and in administering hospitals. In this year of grace when so many Catholic eyes are directed to the Emerald Isle it is worth noting that the spiritual daughters of St. Patrick on both sides of the Atlantic have played a major part in all its activities, thereby keeping up the great missionary traditions of their race.

Too often lives of service and sacrifice remain unchronicled.

It was therefore a happy thought which prompted the learned Carmelite to write this history with a view to anticipating the golden jubilee which the Congregation will celebrate in 1938. The reviewer echoes the prayer of the author—*Ad multos annos!*

HUGH GRAHAM, PH. D.

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The Apostle of the Chippewas. By Joseph Gregorich. The Bishop Baraga Association, Chicago, 1932, pp. 103.

To read this sketch is to want to read a more detailed life of the "Apostle of the Chippewas," the Most Reverend Frederick Baraga, D. D., first Bishop of Sault Ste. Marie and later of Marquette. Joseph Gregorich in writing this work as a tribute to the memory of the Bishop has happily selected for its publication the year which marks the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of his missionary labors in America among the Indians around the upper Great Lakes region.

Profound piety, burning zeal, and a deep love for the souls of Indians radiate from the personality of this scion of an affluent Slovene family, who seven years after his ordination to the priesthood, came to America in 1831, and under the jurisdiction of Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati began at historic Arbre Croche what was to be a life of thirty-six years among the Indians.

In speaking of himself Bishop Baraga said, "I am essentially an Indian missionary." That he was, with the added abilities of a linguist, writer and litterateur; he was an authority on the Chippewa Indian language. Numbered among his compositions is a prayerbook in Chippewa and Ottawa. *The Life of Jesus Christ, Eternal Truths,* and a book of sermons were some of his literary contributions to the advancement of the red man. Today, philologists highly prize his grammar and dictionary of the Chippewa language.

The writer in his selection of incidents from the life of Bishop Baraga has shown an understanding sympathy for the trials and difficulties of this intrepid and zealous missionary. The work should be of double interest to those conversant with the beginnings of the Church in Wisconsin and Michigan, since the activities of the Bishop were centered about the old missionary posts of Menard and Allouez, his Jesuit predecessors of the seventeenth century.

A study of the life of this saintly genius would perhaps engender a devotion to and a greater knowledge of one whose cause of beatification may be realized in the very near future.

SISTER MARY PAUL

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The Life of Venerable Marguerite Bourgeoys, foundress of the Congregation de Notre Dame of Montreal. By a member of the Order. P. J. Kennedy & Sons, New York, pp. xiii+231. $3.00.

This edifying volume is more than a biography; it is a tribute alike to Christian idealism and the nobility of Christian womanhood. With a subdued tenseness that holds the sympathetic reader expectant throughout, the gifted authoress unfolds a tale of unremitting heroism with a charming modesty and sympathetic softness that well becomes the subject of the narrative.

Marguerite Bourgeoys, native of Troyes, France, of humble birth but singular endowment, early in life conceives an exemplary devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mother. Her youth is a persistent quest of the divine will. As she advances into young womanhood, always intent upon dedicating her life to the cause of Christ, many are the trials that come to her. Successive disappointments, disquieting uncertainties, even rebuffs become her ordinary lot. Burning with zeal, unwavering in faith, her forceful personality sees in every reverse the expression of the divine will.

Faith and devotion triumph: miraculously her mission is revealed, "Go, I will never abandon thee." It is the Mother of God who commands her as Marguerite enters the massive gates of the old Dominican Abbey of Notre Dame-aux-Nonnains. She has been numbered amongst those pioneers who are to extend the domain of Christ in the Canadian wilderness.

And then, anxiety allayed but grave in the consciousness of a great trust, after a stormy and trying voyage across the Atlantic, of which she made three, Marguerite Bourgeoys, in that stable-school at Montreal, lays an enduring corner-stone of Christian culture in the New World. For it was not a school that this Christian heroine and her co-laborers taught; she infused a culture in a growing civilization. The struggle is always great; the prospect always discouraging; but the goal is always

sustaining, though only miraculously does the colony at times endure.

One pursues the narrative throughout with a reverent awe: there is force in this unembellished simplicity with which the authoress delineates the virtues of this superior soul. Her heroine is always human: she is happy to be human to sacrifice. The feeling grows that such indomitable courage is destined to succeed. How could anything but success crown such an enterprise as the school at Ville Marie when Christ leads and His Blessed Mother intercedes. It was, indeed, Marguerite Bourgeoys' motto and it brought her sainthood along with success.

The story is withal a tale of loving sacrifice born of Christian fortitude; the drama of a life in which duty leads; the portrayal of the missionary spirit dedicating unreservedly all that is human to the cause of souls and it is told with a graphic realism dignified by a tenderness that seems alike appropriate to the subject and native to the writer.

The sequel is satisfying: the seed was planted by a valiant soul and her equally courageous followers; it grew and flourished under the fostering care of their successors to inform eventually the life of the French race in Canada.

Several well-chosen illustrations add to the expressive dignity of the volume.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

The Reverend Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., Ph. D., author of "The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673," is now engaged on a history of the Catholic Church in Texas sponsored by the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission.

The Reverend Bernard Duhr, S. J. (1852-1930), was the distinguished historian of the Society of Jesus in German-speaking lands ("Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Landern deutscher Zunge," 1907-). His posthumous study on Columbus was the last production of his pen.

Mrs. Edward M. Schaaf, St. Mary's, Missouri, has made studies extending over many years in the pioneer history of southeastern Missouri.